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BIBLICAL RESEARCHES

IN

PALESTINE,

MOUNT SINAI AND ARABIA PETRÆA.

A JOURNAL OF TRAVELS IN THE YEAR 1838,

BY

E. ROBINSON AND E. SMITH.

UNDERTAKEN IN REFERENCE TO BIBLICAL GEOGRAPHY.

DRAWN UP FROM THE ORIGINAL DIARIES, WITH HISTORICAL ILLUSTRATIONS,

BY EDWARD ROBINSON, D.D.

Professor of Biblical Literature in the Union Theological Seminary, New York;
Author of a Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament, etc.

WITH NEW MAPS AND PLANS IN FIVE SHEETS.

VOL. I.

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TO THE

REV. MOSES STUART,

Professor of Sacred Literature in the Andover Theological Seminary,

THESE VOLUMES,

THE FRUIT OF STUDIES BEGUN IN THE BOSOM OF HIS FAMILY,

ARE RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

AS A TOKEN OF GRATEFUL ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

ON THE PART OF A

PUPIL AND FRIEND.

PREFACE.

The occasion, the motives, and the manner of the journey, of which these volumes contain the history, are sufficiently detailed at the beginning and close of the Introductory Section. It remains here only to speak of the form, in which the materials have been wrought up.

It was my original plan, to present to the public only the results of our researches in Palestine, without any reference to personal incidents. But the advice of friends, whose judgment I could not but place above my own, was averse to such a course. I have therefore everywhere interwoven the personal narrative; and have endeavoured so to do it, as to exhibit the manner in which the Promised Land unfolded itself to our eyes, and the processes by which we were led to the conclusions and opinions advanced in this work. In all this there is at least one advantage for the public. As we venture to hope, that these volumes contain a considerable amount of new information upon the historical topography of Palestine, this course will enable the reader better to judge of the opportunities for observation enjoyed by the travellers, as well as of the credibility of their testimony and the general accuracy of their conclusions. In all these particulars, we have no desire to shun the closest scrutiny.

A similar doubt existed for a time, in respect to the form of narrative to be adopted;—whether a full and regularly arranged account of each object in succession, as in the works of Pococke and Niebuhr; or a daily Journal, like those of Maundrell and Burckhardt. I chose the latter, for a reason similar to that already assigned, viz. that in this way the reader is better able to follow the process of inquiry and conviction in the traveller's own mind. It is however an evil necessarily incident to this form, that remarks upon one and the same object sometimes occur in different places, instead of being brought together as parts of a whole. Thus, in regard to the Horeb of the present day, the probable place of the giving of the law, the order of time has led me first to speak of it as it appeared on our approach; again, as we measured the plain and took bearings of the mountains around; and then, once more, in connection with our visit to its summit. In like manner, at Beit Jibrîn, the ancient Eleutheropolis, which we examined at two different times, various objects of interest are naturally described under each visit. Yet it seems to me, that this is not an evil of sufficient magnitude, to counterbalance the general advantages of the journal form.

Another more important change of the original plan, arose during the progress of the work, which has had the effect, not only to enlarge the size, but also to increase the labour of preparation more than fourfold. I mean the introduction of historical illustrations, and the discussion of various points relating to the historical topography of the Holy Land. My

first purpose was merely to describe what we saw, leaving the reader to make his own application of the facts. But as I proceeded, questions continually arose, which I could not pass over without at least satisfying my own mind; this sometimes led to long courses of investigation; and when I had thus arrived at satisfactory conclusions, it seemed almost like a neglect of duty towards the reader, not to embody them in the work. Most of these were topics relating to the geography of the Bible, and intimately connected with its interpretation; and I remembered too, that they had never been discussed by any one, who had himself visited the Holy Land.

One branch of these historical investigations, which I cannot but consider as important for the future geographer and traveller, presents a field comparatively untrodden. I refer to the mass of topographical tradition, long since fastened upon the Holy Land by foreign ecclesiastics and monks, in distinction from the ordinary tradition or preservation of ancient names among the native population. The general view which I have taken of this subject, and the principles on which we acted in our inquiries, are sufficiently exhibited in the beginning of Sec. VII. This view has been silently carried out in the subsequent parts of the work; and the attempt made to point out, in most cases, not only what is truth and what is mere legendary tradition, but also to show how far the latter reaches back.

In the history of this foreign tradition, three ages or periods are distinctly marked by documents, which show us, with tolerable completeness, its state and

character at the time. I regret that I have not made these different periods more regularly prominent in the body of the work. The first falls in the fourth century, about A. D. 333, when foreign influence had just acquired a firm and permanent footing, and had not as yet very greatly swerved from the tide of native tradition. Of this period we have a record in the Onomasticon of Eusebius, and the Jerusalem Itinerary. The second is the age of the crusades, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; the traditions of which are best registered in the tract of Brocardus, about A. D. 1283. The third period occurs at the beginning of the seventeenth century; when the volumes of Quaresmius exhibit, in full, the state of the tradition then current in the convents, the great source from which most European travellers have drawn their information.—In comparing these three periods, it is interesting, though painful, to perceive, how the light of truth has gradually become dim, and at length often been quenched in darkness. The Onomasticon, with all its defects and wrong hypotheses, has yet preserved to us much of the tradition of the common people; and contains many names of places never since discovered, though still existing; while the few pages of Brocardus are worth more, in a topographical respect, than the unwieldy folios of Quaresmius. It is certain, that in the long interval between Eusebius and the crusades, very much was forgotten by the church which still existed among the people; and in the subsequent period, the progress of oblivion was perhaps not less rapid. Even within the last two centuries, so far as the convents

and travellers in Palestine are concerned, I fear the cause of Biblical Geography can hardly be said to have greatly advanced.

As here presented to the public, these volumes may therefore be said to exhibit an historical review of the Sacred Geography of Palestine, since the times of the New Testament; pointing out under each place described, how far and in what period it has hitherto been known. This applies however in strictness, only to the parts of the country examined by us; although these include, in a certain sense, nearly the whole of Palestine west of the Jordan.

A point to which we gave particular attention, was the orthography of Arabic names, both in Arabic and Roman letters. In respect to the former, my companion, Mr. Smith, had already made some preparation for our journey, by obtaining the names of places in many of the provinces and districts, written by educated natives. These lists were afterwards verified and corrected from various sources, as well as by himself on visiting the respective districts. The remaining names were written down by him from the pronunciation of the Arabs, with great care, and according to the established rules of the language. In the region of Mount Sinai and Wady Mûsa, we had the benefit of Burckhardt's orthography, which was found to be usually, though not always, correct. It is worthy of remark, that Burckhardt is hitherto the only Frank traveller in Syria, who has, to any extent, given us Arabic names written with Arabic letters.[1]

1) The names written in Arabic letters on the great map of Palestine by Jacotin, and also those in the Travels of Scholz, are so very incorrect, as to form no exception to the above remark.

In this connection, we could not but feel the want of a regular system of orthography for the same names, when written with Latin letters. Scarcely a trace of such a system can be said to have existed hitherto, except in individual works. The subject was brought before the general meeting of the Syrian mission at Jerusalem; and after long consideration, it was resolved to adopt, in general, the system proposed by Mr. Pickering for the Indian languages,[1] with such modifications as might be necessary in adapting it to the oriental tongues. Two motives led to a preference of this system; first, its own intrinsic merits and facility of adaptation; and secondly, the fact, that it was already extensively in use throughout Europe and the United States, in writing the aboriginal names in North America and the South Sea Islands; so that by thus adopting it for the oriental languages, a uniformity of orthography would be secured among the missions, and also in the publications, of the American Board.[2]

In furtherance of the same general object, my friend has taken pains to exhibit, in a short but very clear Essay, the principles which govern the pronunciation of the spoken Arabic at the present day. This I am sure will be highly acceptable to Arabic scholars. It will be found in the Appendix to the last volume; and is there followed by the Lists of

1) "Essay on a uniform Orthography for the Indian Languages of North America. By John Pickering." Cambr. N. E. 1818.—The Indian Languages of North America and of the Islands of the Pacific, have mostly been reduced to writing according to this simple system.

2) In a few Arabic names and words already common in European languages, we have preferred to follow the usual orthography; as Saladin, Ramleh, Wady, etc.

Arabic names of places above referred to, which are more fully described at the beginning of Sec. IX. The Arabic orthography of all the names occurring in the text, is likewise given in an alphabetical Index at the close of the work.

The accompanying maps have been drawn, under my own inspection, by Mr. H. Kiepert, a young scholar of great talent and promise in Berlin. In the parts of the country visited or seen by us, they have been constructed almost solely from our own routes and observations and the information we were able to collect, brought into connection with known and fixed points. The other portions have been supplied from the best authorities, viz. the form and shores of the Gulfs of the Red Sea, from the chart of Capt. Moresby; the country south of Wady Mûsa and parts of Sinai, so far as known, from Laborde, with corrections from Burckhardt and Rüppell; the coast of Palestine as far north as to 'Akka, and the country around Nazareth, from the great map of Jacotin, compiled from surveys made during the French expedition in A. D. 1799; the positions on the coast being corrected from later astronomical observations.[1] The small tract given of the country east of the Jordan, has been reconstructed from the routes and observations of Burckhardt, compared with those of Seetzen, Irby and Mangles, and a few others of less importance. The whole of Mount Lebanon north of Sidon, is drawn from manuscript maps of Prof. Ehrenberg of

1) The great map of Jacotin is valuable only in the parts actually visited by the French engineers, viz. along the coast as far as to 'Akka, the region of Nazareth, and around Mount Tabor. The other parts are worthless, being apparently mere fancy sketches.

Berlin and the Rev. Mr. Bird of the American Mission in Syria, kindly communicated to me for that purpose. The map of the former was used by Berghaus; those of the latter have never been brought before the public.—For the extent and value of our materials, as well as for the other sources in general, the reader is referred to the Memoir of Kiepert, in the Appendix to this work. The style in which the maps have been engraved on stone by Mahlmann of Berlin, himself a skilful cartographer, will I trust be satisfactory to all.

In the construction of the maps, it has been a main principle, to admit no name nor position on mere conjecture, nor without some sufficient positive authority. Where a place is known to exist, though its position is not definitely ascertained, it is marked as uncertain. The operation of this principle has been, to exclude a multitude of names, ancient and modern, which figure at random on most maps of Palestine. For what is the advantage of multiplying names, if we know not where they belong? On the other hand, I would fain hope, that very much has been gained in truth and correctness. The orthography upon the maps has been, for the most part, reduced to our system. In respect to several names, however, along the coasts of the Red Sea, as well as a very few others, this was not in my power; and they are therefore distinguished by the mode of engraving.

This is all I have to say respecting the work, as here presented to the public. We wish it to be regarded merely as a beginning, a first attempt to lay open the treasures of Biblical Geography and History

still remaining in the Holy Land,—treasures which have lain for ages unexplored, and had become so covered with the dust and rubbish of many centuries, that their very existence was forgotten. Were it in our power again to travel through that Land of Promise, with the experience acquired during our former journey and from the preparation of this work, and furnished too with suitable instruments, I doubt not we should be able to lay before the Christian world results far more important and satisfactory. But this high privilege, I at least can never more hope to enjoy. My companion, however, returns to the seat of his labours in Beirût, taking with him instruments of the best kind, in the hope of being able during his occasional journeys to verify or correct our former observations, and also to extend his examination over other parts of the country. I trust that I may yet be the medium of communicating many of his further observations to the public; and that in this way, if God will, we may still be active together, in promoting the study and illustration of the Holy Scriptures. Should my life be spared, I hope to be enabled to use all the materials thus collected by us both, for the preparation of a systematic work on the physical and historical geography of the Holy Land.

The manuscript of this work has been wholly prepared in Berlin; where, in the unrestricted use of that noble institution, the Royal Library, and of the very valuable private collections of Ritter, Neander, and Hengstenberg, I had access to all the literary means I could desire. For all these privileges, and for other aid from many friends, my best thanks are due. How

much I owe besides to the advice and unwearied kindness of Ritter, I need not say to those who know him; the many months of cherished intercourse to which his friendship admitted me, will ever remain among the brightest recollections of my life.

The manuscript was completed in August 1840. Since that time, the intervention of the European powers has caused Palestine once more to revert to the sway of the Sultan; and the Egyptian dominion over it is at an end. But I see no reason to change any thing I have written; and the work may stand as a record of the aspect of the land, during the period of its subjection to the ruler of Egypt.

It gives me pleasure to be able to add, that the whole of the manuscript has been looked through by my companion, Mr. Smith; and has thus received the benefit of his corrections.

Throughout all the journey from Cairo to Beirût, the Rev. James Adger of Charleston, S. C. was our companion and fellow-traveller; except on the excursion from Jerusalem to Gaza and Wady Mûsa.

With humble gratitude to God, I here bring this work to a close. It is the fruit of studies and plans of life running back for nearly twenty years; and for the last four years, it has occupied, more or less exclusively, well nigh all my waking hours. May He, who has thus far sustained me, make it useful for the elucidation of His truth!

Edward Robinson.

New-York, June, 1841.

FOR THE READER.

I. The native Orthography of all Arabic Names occurring in this work, will be found in the Arabic Index at the end of Vol. III.

The rules for the Pronunciation of Arabic Names as written in Roman letters, are given in full at the end of the Essay on Arabic Pronunciation in Vol. III, Second Appendix, pp. 109—111. It is sufficient here to remark, that the *Consonants* are in general to be pronounced as in English, and the *Vowels* as in Italian and German. The following modifications and specifications may be noted:

Consonants.

s has always its sharp sound, as in *son.*
th has always its sharp sound, as in *thick*, *thing.*
dh represents the soft sound of *th* in *this*, *then.*
gh stands for the Arabic Ghain, a sound not known in the western languages. It may best be pronounced like *g* hard in *get*, *give.*
kh is to be sounded nearly like the harsh Swiss-German *ch.*

Vowels.

a, usually as in *hat* or Germ. *Mann.*
â, usually like *a* in *hare*, or *a* in *father.*
ai, like *i* in *pine.*
au, like *ow* in *how.*
e, as in *bed.*
ei, as in *vein.*
i, as in *pin.*
î, like *i* in *machine.*
o, as in *police.*
ö, German *ö* in *hören*; nearly the same as French *eu* in *neuve.*
ô, like long *o* in *note.*
u, as in *full*, *pull.*
û, like *oo* in *poor.*
ŭ, like short *u* in *tub*, *but.*
y at the end of a word, as in *fully.*

II. The Measure of Distance is usually by *hours*, the length of which varies with the kind of animal, and also according to

the nature of the ground. As a general average the following specification in miles has been found most correct and convenient:

	Geog. M.	Stat. M.	Rom. M.	Germ. M.
1 Hour, with Camels =	2.	$2\frac{1}{3}$	$2\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$
1 " with Horses or Mules =	2.4	$2\frac{3}{4}$	3.	$\frac{3}{5}$

Note. The measures of heights are usually given in French feet. The French foot contains 144 lines, of which 135 are equal to an English foot. The proportion of the English foot to the French, is therefore as 15 to 16.

III. The common Measure of Land is the *Feddân* (yoke), which is very indefinite and variable. In general it may be compared with the English *acre* and German *Morgen*.

IV. Corn Measures are the following:

1 *Ardeb* is equivalent, very nearly, to five English bushels.
1 *Ruba'* is the twenty-fourth part of an *Ardeb*.
1 *Mid* (measure) in Palestine contains twelve *Ruba's*.

V. Weights.

1 *Rutl* or pound is in general about $\frac{1}{4}$ oz. less than the English pound avoirdupois; but it is sometimes also reckoned only at 12 oz.
1 *Ukkah* (called by the Franks *Oke*) is about $2\frac{3}{4}$ lbs English.
1 *Kuntâr*, or hundred-weight, contains 100 *Rutls*.

VI. Money is everywhere reckoned by *Piastres;* but the value of these is fluctuating, and has greatly depreciated within the last fifteen or twenty years.

1 *Piastre* contains 40 *Fŭddahs*, called in Turkish *Parahs*.
10 Piastres were equivalent in 1838 to 1 Austrian Florin.
20 " " " 1 Aust. or Amer. Dollar.
21 " " " 1 Span. pillared Dollar.
100 " " " about 1 Pound Sterling.
1 *Kîs* or Purse is 500 Piastres, or about $25 or £5 Sterl.
At Constantinople in 1838 the Spanish Dollar (Colonnato) was worth 23 Piastres, and the other coins in proportion.

*** For the Measures, Weights, and Moneys of Egypt, to which those of Syria were at this time similar, see Lane's Mod. Egyptians, II. p. 370, seq.

CORRECTIONS.

Vol. II. Page 325. It is there said, that the former Greek church in the village of St. George, west of Bethlehem, is now a mosk. So we understood from our guide at the time. But I am informed by my friend, the Rev. S. Calhoun, Agent of the American Bible Society in the Levant, who travelled in 1839 direct from Gaza to Bethlehem, and lodged for a night at St. George, that he found the church and convent still tenanted by two Greek monks, foreigners, speaking the Greek language.

Vol. III. Appendix p. 51. The position of Tershîhah is said to have been taken from Jacotin's map. This is an error; Jacotin's map has not the place. It was taken from Berghaus; his authority is not known, but is very probably correct.

ERRATA.

VOL. I.

Page 60, line 25, read Forskål. So elsewhere.
101, N. 1. line 2, read Russegger. So elsewhere.
285, head-line, " Eboda.
299, line 12, " Forskål.
312, " 23, " Husn.
404, N. 2, line 1, " xxiii for xviii.
526, line 17, 20, " doorway, doorways; for door, doors.

VOL. II.

Page 81, line 15, read sparsedly.
93, line 21, 27, read Kharaj; and so elsewhere.
124, N. 1, end, put a period.
156, bottom. The reference to Note 2, should stand in the bottom line, after 'Ain Yâlo. By mistake it now stands in the top line of the next page.
292, bott. } read Dhurah.
293, top, }
323, line 16, " 'Abûdîyeh.
353, top, " Dubbân.
489, line 24, " thus.
648, Note XXXIV, line 10, read Zu'ara.
651, line 2, read, in some copies, *vectes* of Moab.

VOL. III.

Page 30, N. 1. line 8, read Kûleh.
40, N. 4, " 10, " in some copies, ea; not EA.
155, line 19, " Hady.
158, N. 5, line 6, " Tŭllûza.
250, bott.
279, line 10, } read Ibn Ma'ân.
281, line 26, }

APPENDIX.

Page 17, line 18, after 1661. 4. add: 1666. 4.

ARABIC INDEX.

Page 210, col. 1, under Ghafîr, read Plur.
211, col. 2, " Hakl, " حقل
215, col. 1, " Jedûr, " جدور
" col. 2, " Jubb Jenîn, جنين
These errata are found in only a few copies.

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SECTION I.

INTRODUCTION.—GREECE AND EGYPT.

The following work contains the description of a journey, which had been the object of my ardent wishes, and had entered into all my plans of life, for more than fifteen years. During a former residence of several years in Europe, from A. D. 1826 to 1830, I had hoped that a fit opportunity for such a journey would have presented itself; but for much of that time Syria was the seat of war and commotion; and this, combined with other circumstances, dissuaded me from making the attempt. In the year 1832, the Rev. Eli Smith, American Missionary at Beirût, made a visit to the United States; having recently returned from a long journey with the Rev. Mr. Dwight to Armenia and Persia. He had in former days been my pupil and friend; and a visit to the Holy Land naturally became a topic of conversation between us. It was agreed, that we would, if possible, make such a journey together at some future time; and the same general plan was then marked out, which we have since been permitted to execute. A prominent feature of the plan was, to penetrate from Mount Sinai by 'Akabah to Wady Mûsa, and thence to Hebron and Jerusalem; not knowing at the time that any part of this route had been already explored; though it has since

become almost a highway for travellers. I count myself fortunate in having been thus early assured of the company of one, who, by his familiar and accurate knowledge of the Arabic language, by his acquaintance with the people of Syria, and by the experience gained in former extensive journeys, was so well qualified to alleviate the difficulties and overcome the obstacles which usually accompany oriental travel. Indeed, to these qualifications of my companion, combined with his taste for geographical and historical researches, and his tact in eliciting and sifting the information to be obtained from an Arab population, are mainly to be ascribed the more important and interesting results of our journey. For I am well aware, that had I been compelled to travel with an ordinary uneducated interpreter, I should naturally have undertaken much less than we together have actually accomplished; while many points of interest would have been overlooked, and many inquiries would have remained without satisfactory answers.[1]

Embarking with my family at New-York, July 17th, 1837, we had a favourable voyage across the Atlantic, and landed at Liverpool on the eighteenth day. We passed on to London; stopping for a few days in Leamington and its charming environs; and also a few days amid the calm dignity of Oxford and its scholastic halls. In London it was now the season when "all the world is out of town;" yet some veterans in oriental travel were still there; and I received many hints of information, which were afterwards of great use to me. After a few weeks, we proceeded by Antwerp and Brussels to Cologne; and thence by easy land-journeys up the glorious Rhine to Frankfort;

1) The results of Mr. Smith's Journey to Armenia above alluded to, have been given to the public in the work entitled, "*Researches in Armenia, etc. by Messrs. Smith and Dwight.*" Bost. 1833. Lond. 1834.

and so by Weimar and Halle to Berlin. Here I had hoped to learn much from Ritter, as to many points of inquiry lying out of my own department; but he was absent, himself engaged in exploring the classic soil of Greece and its remoter islands.

Leaving my family with their friends in Germany, I set off from Berlin on the 13th Nov. by way of Halle; where Gesenius, Tholuck, and Roediger, suggested many topics of importance in respect to the researches on which I was about to enter. My course was now by Vienna to Trieste. The whole journey was exceedingly uncomfortable,—a constant succession of cold storms of rain and snow, heavy roads, and all the discomforts and dreariness of an early winter. During the whole interval from Berlin to Trieste, the sun appeared only on two days; and then but for a short time. I entered Trieste in a driving snow-storm, which abated for a time only to change its character and return with new vehemence in another form,—as a furious Levanter, accompanied by torrents of rain. The next morning, Nov. 30th, all traces of winter had disappeared, except the snows along the summits of the Friulian Alps. The brilliant sky of Italy was again cloudless; and balmy breezes, as of spring, were playing upon the bright waters of the Adriatic. It was an almost instantaneous change from winter in its rudest forms, to the brightness and deliciousness of May. I could not but hail the change with gratitude, and regard it as a favourable omen; and from that time onward the progress of my journey was never retarded for an hour, nor scarcely for a moment rendered uncomfortable, by any unfavourable state of the weather.

I had chosen the route by Trieste as the shortest; and was gratified to find that it had been recently rendered still shorter by the arrangement of the steam-

ers of the Austrian Lloyd to run twice a month, both to Constantinople and Alexandria. In London I had made diligent inquiry; but was unable to learn, with certainty, that any steamer was running from Trieste to the Levant. In Berlin too I had made similar inquiries, especially at the embassies of England, Austria, and Bavaria, with no better success; but finally obtained the desired information at the Post Office. This route also afforded two important advantages over the Danube route from Vienna to Constantinople; first, because I could thus pass a fortnight at Athens, and yet reach Egypt at the allotted time; and further, because I could thus enter Egypt from Greece without quarantine; while all persons coming to Egypt from any part of the Turkish empire, were subjected to a quarantine of three weeks.

On the 1st of December I embarked at Trieste; having been joined almost at the last moment by two young countrymen, who continued to be my companions in Egypt, and one of them also in the Holy Land. Our vessel was the Giovanni Arciduca d'Austria, under the command of Capt. Pietro Marasso, one of the most intelligent and gentlemanly commanders, whom it has been my fortune to meet with. Seven months afterwards, I found this fine steamer plying between Syra and Alexandria; and Capt. Marasso in command of the Mahmoudie, a larger vessel running between Syra and Constantinople.—It was a lovely sunset as we glided out of the harbour of Trieste; a flood of golden light was poured upon the glassy waters and upon the eastern mountain, sprinkled with white cottages and country-seats, from which it was reflected back upon the city and shipping below. We passed swiftly by the Gulf of Capo d'Istria; saw the lights of Isola and the light-house of Pirano; and then in darkness laid our course for Ancona.

The next morning was bright and beautiful; before us was the Italian coast, over which towered the snow-capped ridges of the Appenines. At 9 o'clock we cast anchor in the rock-bound and picturesque harbour of Ancona; where we lay till towards evening, and then pursued our way along the Adriatic. The next day we were plunging against a head wind through the midst of the broadest part of the sea; where the islands and coasts on each side were only occasionally visible. Monte Gargano alone, on the Italian coast, was seen the whole day. But the morning of the 4th was brilliant and exciting. At sunrise we were in the channel of Otranto, abreast of the little island Saseno and Cape Linguetta; while before us on the left the eye rested in fascination upon the lofty summits of the Acroceraunian mountains, the terror of ancient mariners,—wild, dark, desolate peaks, as if scathed and blasted by lightning; whence their name. The sun was now rising over them in splendour. The Albanian coast continues onward in high, rocky ridges; desolate, but picturesque. For a long distance there was no trace of human habitations. Afterwards, a few miserable villages were seen clinging to the rocky side of the mountains; but no appearance of tillage, and hardly of vegetation. In the afternoon we approached the Island of Corfu, and passing onward through the enchanting scenery of its channel, dropped our anchor at evening in its harbour, between the little island of Vido and the city. The whole region, the island, the harbour, and the opposite Albanian coast, are exceedingly picturesque; and in the impression which they make, reminded me strongly of the Bay of Naples; though every thing here is on a much smaller scale.

We remained at Corfu until the evening of the following day, Dec. 5th. We went on shore, visited the

various quarters of the city, enjoyed the prospect from the light-house on the high rock of the citadel, and mingled with the people. They were the first specimen we saw of a Greek population; and I must do the Greek nation the justice to say, that they were also the worst. The streets were thronged with ragged, cut-throat looking fellows,—fierce, rugged, weather-worn visages, who might well have sat for Byron's pictures. Our old friends, the Lazzaroni of Naples, are gentlemen in comparison. And yet these Corfuites might afford to look down upon some boat-loads of wild Albanian peasants, which we saw in the harbour. The government of the Ionian Islands, under the direction and influence of the English Lord High Commissioner, has established many schools, in which the Scriptures are read. Mr. Lowndes, the intelligent Missionary of the London Missionary Society, is the General Superintendent of all these schools throughout the Islands; and had just returned from a tour in which he had visited eighty schools. No religious instruction is given in them, beyond the reading of the Scriptures. According to the estimate of Mr. L., who had resided twenty-two years in Corfu, the city contains about 16,000 inhabitants; and the whole island about 35,000. Other estimates vary much from this.

Leaving Corfu at sunset, we saw during the evening the islands of Paxos and Anti-Paxos; and passed at night through the channel between Santa Maura and Theaki, the ancient Ithaca. We of course lost the sight of Sappho's Leap on the western coast of the former. The morning found us some distance S. E. of the latter island; of which we had a distinct, though not a close view; yet enough to awaken all our classic feelings, and call up vividly before us Ulysses and the great "Father of Song." Both these islands, as also Cephalonia, present the aspect of dark,

high, rocky mountains, with little appearance of fertility.

We entered the Bay of Patras, and anchored in its roadstead for some hours. The bay is shut in by mountains, which exclude the winds. The weather was warm and sunny, like a day of June. Patras is a large straggling village with about 7000 inhabitants, lying at the foot of the western slope of Mount Voda, the ancient Panachaicon. Above the village is a dismantled fortress; from which there is a fine prospect of the bay and its shores. The plain of Patras is fertile and tolerably well tilled. On the north of the bay is the ancient Aetolia; here one sees the modern Missilonghi on the coast; and further east the mouth of the Eurotas; and far in the N. E. the snowy summits of Oeta and Parnassus. An hour or more N. E. of Patras is the narrow entrance to the Gulf of Lepanto, defended by two fortresses on low opposite points; and just beyond is the town of Lepanto on the northern coast.—From Patras the mail is usually sent by land to Athens, across the isthmus of Corinth; and travellers also often take this route.

Towards evening we were again upon our way; and passed during the night along the coast of Arcadia. The next morning, soon after sunrise, we were running close in shore and near to Navarino and Modon; and then, rounding the islands of Sapienza and Cabrera, we struck across the bay of Koron to the coast of Maina. Here the frowning peaks of Pentedaktylon, the ancient Taygetus, rose in majesty before our view, the loftiest and most rugged summits of the Peloponnesus. These mountains, the back-bone of ancient Laconia, are still inhabited by a brave and high-spirited people, the Mainotes; who boast that they are of pure Spartan descent, and that they have never been conquered. The events of recent years, however, seem

to call in question the latter of these assertions; while a sprinkling of Slavic words and names of places, are thought by scholars versed in these matters, to indicate some infusion of Slavic blood. We passed quite near to the coast, and could see many of their villages, mere clusters of stone hovels with square towers intermingled, for the purpose of defence in the frequent feuds between families and neighbours, which were formerly so common. The stern hand of a regular government has lessened the number of these feuds, and destroyed many of these private castles. The people are turning their attention more to the arts of peace and civilization. They have demanded teachers; and a missionary station had just been established among them by the American Board, under the patronage of the fine old Mainote Bey, Mavromichalis, with every encouragement and prospect of success.

In the afternoon we turned the high rocky point of Cape Matapan, and struck across the Laconian Gulf to the northward of Cerigo towards Cape Malio. This latter cape we passed at evening; and bore away during the night for Hydra. In the morning of Dec. 8th, we were abreast of this island at some distance from it; and could see on our right the little island of St. George, and the remoter ones of Zea and Thermia. Cape Colonna was also visible, and the island Helena beyond; while before us lay Mount Hymettus, upon which a cloud was discharging its snows. As we advanced, the Acropolis, and then Mount Pentelicus opened upon the view; and rounding the promontory of Mynichia, we cast anchor at $11\frac{1}{2}$ o'clock in the oval land-locked basin of the Piraeus. We were somewhat astonished to find fiacres in waiting, apparently of German manufacture; and in one of them we were soon on our way along a macadamized road to the city of Athens, a distance of six English miles.

This drive was accompanied by sad feelings. The day was cloudy, cold and cheerless. The plain and mountains around, the scenes of so many thrilling associations, were untilled and desolate; and on every side were seen the noblest monuments of antiquity in ruins, now serving to mark only the downfall of human greatness and of human pride. Nor did the entrance to the city tend to dissipate these feelings. Small dwellings of stone, huddled together along narrow, crooked, unpaved, filthy lanes, are not the Athens which the scholar loves in imagination to contemplate. Yet they constitute, with a few exceptions, the whole of modern Athens. Even in its best parts, and in the vicinity of the court itself, there is often an air of haste and shabbiness, which, although not a matter of wonder under the circumstances in which the city has been built up, cannot fail to excite in the stranger a feeling of disappointment and sadness. This however does not last long. The force of historical associations is too powerful not to triumph over present degradation; and the traveller soon forgets the scenes before him, and dwells only on the remembrance of the past.

We found a welcome home in the hospitable mansions of Messrs. King and Hill, American Missionaries; and rejoiced to learn that their exertions in behalf of education and religious instruction are duly acknowledged by the Greek people, and are bearing good fruit. The clergy, as is well known, are in general opposed to such labours; and the government to a great degree indifferent; except in respect to the female schools of Mrs. Hill, which the government has so far encouraged, as to furnish at its own cost a certain number of pupils, to be afterwards employed as teachers in national female schools.

It would not become me to enter into any details respecting the antiquities of Athens. Greece was not

the object of my journey; nor had a visit to Athens made part of my original plan. I was therefore not prepared to investigate its remains, any further than I could gather information on the spot from the excellent works of Col. Leake and Dr. Wordsworth.[1] Yet no one can visit Athens without receiving a profound impression of its ancient taste and splendour; and the record of this impression in my own case, is all that I can give.

The most striking feature in Athens is doubtless the Acropolis. It is a mass of rock, which rose precipitously in the midst of the ancient city, and is still accessible only on its N. W. part. On the oblong area of its levelled surface were collected the noblest monuments of Grecian taste; it was the very sanctuary of the arts, the glory, and the religion of ancient Athens. The majestic Propylon, the beautiful Erectheum, and the sublime Parthenon, all built of the purest marble, though now ruined and broken down, still attest the former splendours of the place, and exhibit that perfect unity of the simple, the sublime, and the beautiful, to which only Grecian taste ever attained. In this respect, there is no other spot like it on earth. Rome has nothing to compare with it; and the vast masses of Egyptian architecture, while they almost oppress the mind with the idea of immensity, leave no impression of beauty or simplicity.

My first visit in Athens was to the Areopagus, where Paul preached.[2] This is a narrow, naked ridge of limestone rock, rising gradually from the northern end, and terminating abruptly on the south, overagainst the west end of the Acropolis, from which it bears about north; being separated from it by an elevated valley. This southern end is fifty or sixty feet above the said

1) Leake's Topogr. of Athens. Wordsworth's Athens and Attica.

2) See the narrative in Acts xvii. 16, seq.

valley; though yet much lower than the Acropolis. On its top are still to be seen the seats of the judges and parties, hewn in the rock; and towards the S. W. is a descent by a flight of steps, also cut in the rock, into the valley below. On the west of the ridge, in the valley between it and the Pnyx, was the ancient market; and on the S. E. side, the later or new market. In which of these it was, that Paul "disputed daily," it is of course impossible to tell; but from either, it was only a short distance to the foot of "Mars Hill," up which Paul was probably conducted by the flight of steps just mentioned. Standing on this elevated platform, surrounded by the learned and the wise of Athens, the multitude perhaps being on the steps and in the vale below, Paul had directly before him the far-famed Acropolis with its wonders of Grecian art; and beneath him, on his left, the majestic Theseium, the earliest and still most perfect of Athenian structures; while all around, other temples and altars filled the whole city. Yet here, amid all these objects of which the Athenians were so proud, Paul hesitated not to exclaim: "God, who made the world and all things that are therein,—He being Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands!" On the Acropolis, too, were the three celebrated statues of Minerva; one of olive-wood; another of gold and ivory in the Parthenon, the master-piece of Phidias; and the colossal statue in the open air, the point of whose spear was seen over the Parthenon by those sailing along the gulf. To these Paul probably referred and pointed, when he went on to affirm, that "the Godhead is not like unto gold, or silver, or stone, graven by art and man's device."—Indeed it is impossible to conceive of any thing more adapted to the circumstances of time and place, than is the whole of this masterly address; but the full force and energy

and boldness of the Apostle's language, can be duly felt, only when one has stood upon the spot. The course of the argument too is masterly,—so entirely adapted to the acute and susceptible minds of his Athenian audience.

Directly overagainst the Areopagus, and in full view of the place thus consecrated by the labours of the great Apostle of the Gentiles, is another spot still more distinctly marked, and hardly less interesting, as being the undoubted scene of the patriotic exertions of the great Athenian orator. On the eastern slope of the longer hill, which runs parallel to the Areopagus in the west, lies the Pnyx, the place where the assemblies of the Athenian people were held in the open air. It is a semicircular area; the rock on the upper part being cut away to the depth of eight or ten feet; and the lower part being in some places built up in a straight line with cyclopean walls. At the highest point, in the middle of the arc, a square mass of the rock is left projecting into the area, with steps to ascend it on the sides. Here was the spot, the very *Bema*, on which Demosthenes stood, when he addressed the Athenian people in those strains of fervid eloquence, which

> "Shook th' arsenal, and fulmin'd over Greece,
> To Macedon, and Artaxerxes' throne."

The exactness of this locality cannot well be drawn in question. It is true, that the *Bema* stood originally on the summit of the ridge, some yards above the present spot, whence the orator could see the Piræus and its fleets; but its position had been changed long before the days of Demosthenes.

One afternoon we rode with Mr. Hill to the supposed site of the Academy, where Plato taught his 'words of wisdom.' There is nothing to mark the site

definitely. It lies N. E. of the city in the plain, beyond the Cephisus, which is here a brawling brook, much used for irrigating the adjacent fields and gardens. The whole tract is covered with olive-groves. We returned by the hill of Kolonos, the scene of the Oedipus Coloneus of Sophocles; where once stood a temple of Neptune. This hill affords a noble view of Athens and its environs. It was a splendid afternoon; and the atmosphere had all that perfect clearness and transparency for which the climate of Attica is remarkable; far surpassing in this respect the sky of Italy or of any other country known to me. Remote objects were seen with the utmost distinctness; the island of Hydra seemed to be hardly ten miles off; though its real distance is more than forty English miles. The sun went down while we were yet upon the hill, pouring a flood of transparent glory over the landscape; and as the reflection of his last beams lingered upon the Parthenon and slowly ascended the dark sides of Mount Hymettus beyond, they were followed by hues of brilliant purple, which also climbed the heights of Hymettus, and spread themselves abroad upon the sky.

Another day we rode with the same friend to the ancient quarries on the side of Hymettus; and then to a farm near the foot of the mountain. Hymettus was of old celebrated for its honey; and large quantities of it are still collected in the neighbourhood. On the farm we visited, there were about two hundred hives of bees; and the people were then engaged in gathering the honey. This was a second harvest (in December); the first and greater one being in August. We were gratified in being able to taste the honey of Hymettus, at its fountain-head; though I cannot award to it the palm of superior excellence, which both the ancient and modern Athenians have claimed for it.

It is dark coloured, and has a very strong flavour of thyme; being indeed chiefly collected from this plant, which thickly covers the whole slope of the mountain.

On one of the last mornings of our stay in Athens, I went very early to the Acropolis, to see the sun rise over Mount Hymettus. The morning was clear and cold; a frost, for the first time, had left slight traces of ice in the streets. I was alone upon the Acropolis, in the midst of the solemn grandeur of its desolations. Seating myself within the ruins of the Parthenon, where the eye could command the whole horizon through the columns of the eastern portico, I waited for the rising sun. The whole sky was so resplendent, that for a long time I could not determine the point where the orb of day would appear. The sunlight already lay upon the eastern plain and on the northern mountains, falling between Hymettus and Pentelicus. Small fleecy clouds came floating on the north wind; and, as they hovered over Hymettus and met the rays of the sun, were changed to liquid gold. At length the first beams fell upon the Parthenon, and lighted up its marbles and its columns with a silvery splendour. It was one of those moments in the life of man, that can never be forgotten.

We remained seventeen days in Athens; the next steamer having been delayed two days beyond the regular time. The weather during this interval was variable; frequent storms of high wind with rain, and the mountains sometimes thinly covered with snow; and then again intervening days like the loveliest of June. A morning cloud, however small, on Mount Hymettus was the sure prognostic of rain in the course of the day. The thermometer fell only once below the freezing point; and this was regarded as the severest cold of the winter. We had planned an excursion to Argos, where some of our American friends

were then residing; intending to cross the gulf to Nauplia, and return by way of Corinth and its isthmus. But a storm hindered us at the time appointed, and for some days afterwards; and I was compelled to rest satisfied with the view of the Acropolis of Corinth, as seen from the Acropolis of Athens. Similar circumstances prevented also a proposed excursion to the summit of Mount Pentelicus and the plain of Marathon.

I had of course no extensive opportunity to observe the people of Greece; nor, in any case, would this be the proper place to dwell upon their political circumstances. But as the result of my own observation, coupled with information received from many quarters, I must do the inhabitants of the kingdom of Greece the justice to say, that although burdened with a foreign government, in which as a people they have no voice, this little nation of 800,000 souls, in the short period of their existence as a state, have in a good degree shaken off their former degradation, and have raised themselves, as to independence of character, integrity, and intellectual and moral enterprise, to a standing considerably above any other portions of their countrymen, and especially above those who still remain under the Turkish dominion. The people have an ardent desire for instruction and for free institutions; and although they may not yet be ripe for the latter, yet it is to be hoped that the influence of some of the larger continental powers, however strongly exerted, will not be mighty enough to quench these aspirations.[1]

During our stay at Athens I was able to have communication with my friend, the Rev. Mr. Smith,

1) After the above was written, I had the pleasure of learning from Prof. Ritter, that he too was led to the same conclusion respecting the relative intellectual and moral standing of the Greek people, in and out of the kingdom of Greece.

who was then in Smyrna. I would gladly have joined him there, that so we might have proceeded together to Egypt. But the business of which he had charge, would not permit of his leaving immediately; and then too there was a quarantine of three weeks between Smyrna and Alexandria. Of course it was more pleasant and profitable to spend these three weeks under the warmer sun and amid the wonders of Egypt, than to be shut up within the walls of a miserable lazaretto at Syra or Alexandria. It was arranged therefore with Mr. Smith, with the unanimous and hearty assent of his missionary brethren in Smyrna and Athens, that he should meet me at Cairo in the last days of February; and so leaving him to enjoy the quarantine alone, we set our faces directly towards Egypt.

We embarked at the Piraeus on the evening of Dec. 25th, on board the steamer Baron Eichhof; and at sunrise next morning were off the north end of Syra, surrounded by a splendid array of picturesque islands, the Cyclades of former days. Behind us lay Jura, Zea, and Thermia. In the N. W. were visible the lofty mountains on the southern end of Negropont, capped with snow; and in the S. W. were Serfo and Sifanto. Near at hand on our left were the large islands of Andros and Tinos, the former with snowy mountains; and before us, Mycone, Delos, and Great Delos. As we rounded the northern point of Syra, we came in sight of Naxos, Paros, and Anti-Paros; and could also see the high land of Nikeria over the southern extremity of Tinos. In a direction a little further to the south, I looked long for Patmos; but in vain. At 8 o'clock we cast anchor in the fine bay of Syra, on the eastern side of the island; which has of late years acquired celebrity as the chief commercial port of Greece, and the central point of meeting for all the various lines of French and Austrian steamers.

We passed here a very agreeable and very busy day, chiefly in the society of our kind American friends, the Rev. Dr. Robertson and his family, who have since removed to Constantinople. We visited their schools and printing establishment; and also the flourishing schools of the English Church Missionary Society, under the care of Messrs. Hildner and Wolters.—The old town of Syra lies on the sides of a conical hill at some distance from the shore, and contains 5000 inhabitants. The new town, which sprung into existence during the Greek revolution, lies upon the shore below; and is supposed to contain a population of 18,000 souls. Ship-building is here carried on extensively. The expenses of living are said to be greater in this town, than anywhere else in the Levant; chiefly because all articles of necessity or luxury must be brought from a distance; the island itself furnishing almost nothing.

We embarked again the same evening, Dec. 26th, for Alexandria, on board the steamer Prince Metternich, which was lying in quarantine. A thunder-storm which passed over the harbour, delayed our departure until after midnight. At sunrise we were abreast of the small island Polykandro on our left; having on our right Sifanto, Argentiera, Polino, and Milo; while behind Polykandro we could see Sikyno and Nio, and far in the S. E. the high volcanic island of Santorin, which Ritter had explored so thoroughly a few months before. At 10 o'clock Crete was visible; but was indistinct and covered with clouds. At evening we cast anchor in the harbour of Canéa, on the north coast of the island near its western end. This city contains about 6000 inhabitants; and lies like an amphitheatre around a small inner circular port, at the foot of a large bay setting up between the Capes Spada and Meleka; the land rising gradually from the water on

all sides. Back of the city Mount Mélessa rises to the height of several thousand feet, and was then covered with deep snow; while far in the east, near the middle of the island, was seen the majestic and loftier form of Mount Ida, also white with snows, and glittering in the last beams of the setting sun.

The little port of Canéa is formed by an artificial mole, with a fortress on each side of the entrance. Here for the first time we beheld mosks and minarets, the latter crowned by the crescent; showing us that we had here entered a territory subject to the Muslim rule. It was now near the close of the fast of Ramadân; and the minarets were lighted up by rows of small lamps thickly suspended from the external galleries, producing a pleasing effect in the darkness of evening. Indeed the whole effect of the lights of the city at evening, rising on every side, was fine and imposing.

Crete is now under the dominion of the Pasha of Egypt; and at that time presented the rather singular anomaly even in oriental quarantines, that while Egypt itself had no quarantine against Greece, yet Crete had a quarantine against both Greece and Egypt. We were not permitted to land at Canéa; but some American missionary friends, to whom we had letters, kindly came off in a boat the next morning, and gratified us by a short visit along side. Mr. Benton and his family had then been established in Canéa about a year, with very encouraging prospects of usefulness and success.

We left Canéa again at 11 o'clock A. M. Dec. 28th, and pursued our way along the northern coast of Crete. A strong N. E. wind had set in, which was contrary to us and raised a heavy sea; so that our progress was slow, and the motion of the vessel very uncomfortable. Clouds likewise gathered upon the island; permitting

us only occasional glimpses of the coast and the lofty brow of Ida. The next morning we were off the eastern end of Crete, which was just visible in a low line below the clouds which rested on it; and in the N. E. we could distinguish the high islands of Caso and Scarpanto. The N. E. wind was now more favourable, and our progress more rapid; but the weather was still cold and the motion uncomfortable. The next day, Dec. 30th, was warmer; and a heavy shower from the S. W. left a strong wind from that quarter, with much motion. Early in the afternoon we began to meet vessels which had left Alexandria with the change of wind. At 3 o'clock the column of Diocletian began to appear; then the tall masts of the Egyptian fleet, which was lying in the harbour; afterwards the Pasha's palace and other buildings; and finally the low coast. At 5 o'clock we gained the narrow entrance of the western port, following a pilot, who led the way in his small boat. He refused to come on board, saying we were to be in quarantine,—a piece of news which somewhat alarmed our Captain; as he had left the port only a few days before *in pratique*, and had since been in no port against which there was a quarantine. Half an hour afterwards we cast anchor near the city, in the midst of the huge men of war which compose the Egyptian fleet. A boat with Frank health-officers soon ran along side. The officers came on board with all due precautions, and instituted a very strict scrutiny as to the passengers and letters; to the great surprise of our Captain, who had never experienced any thing of the kind before. The result of the scrutiny was in our favour; and all of a sudden the chief health-officer, a friend of the Captain, threw his arms around the latter; and the deck resounded with their mutual kisses and congratulations. We were not uninterested spectators

of this scene; and joined heartily in the rejoicings of the moment. We now learned that the last French steamer, which arrived just a week before us, and in which we at first had thought of taking passage, had by some negligence received on board at Syra the letters and packages from Constantinople and Smyrna, without their having first been fumigated at the health-office. In consequence of this, the vessel had been put in quarantine at Alexandria for twenty days, and her passengers for seven days; from which the latter were freed only the day after our arrival. We of course were grateful for this escape from confinement in an Egyptian lazaretto.

It was now too late to go on shore and look up lodgings in a strange city. We waited until morning, and then landed with the Captain at the custom-house. The moment we set foot on shore, we needed no further conviction, that we had left Europe and were now in the oriental world. We found ourselves in the midst of a dense crowd, through which we made our way with difficulty,—Egyptians, Turks, Arabs, Copts, Negroes, Franks; complexions of white, black, olive, bronze, brown, and almost all other colours; long beards and no beards; all costumes and no costume; silks and rags; wide robes and no robes; women muffled in shapeless black mantles, their faces wholly covered except peep-holes for the eyes; endless confusion, and a clatter and medley of tongues, Arabic, Turkish, Greek, Italian, French, German, and English, as the case might be; strings of huge camels in single file with high loads; little donkies, bridled and saddled, each guided by a sore-eyed Arab boy with a few words of Sailor-English, who thrusts his little animal *nolens volens* almost between your legs;—such is a faint picture of the scene in which we found ourselves on landing in Alexandria.

We made our way at length to the Frank quarter, in the S. E. part of the city, through narrow, crooked, dirty streets and lanes, running between dead walls or ill-built houses with flat roofs. The Frank quarter is near the eastern port, and consists of a broad street or place, surrounded by large houses in the Italian style. We paid our respects to Mr. Gliddon, Consul of the United States, to whom I had an official letter; and he immediately sent his Kawwâs or Janizary to procure us lodgings, and to pass our luggage at the custom-house. During our stay in Alexandria, and afterwards in Cairo, we were greatly indebted to the courtesy and kind offices of Mr. Gliddon; and I take pleasure in this opportunity of tendering to him my grateful acknowledgments.

It was now the third day of the great festival of the Muhammedans, (the Lesser Bairam of the Turks,) which follows the fast of Ramadân, and continues three days. All was of course joy and rejoicing among the population; bands of jugglers were exhibiting their feats in the open places of the streets; the ships of war in the harbour were gaily decked with flags and streamers; and at noon the thunder of their cannon proclaimed a salute in honour of the day. This was the first and only Muhammedan festival, which we had an opportunity of seeing.

Of ancient Alexandria, that renowned city, which contained 600,000 inhabitants, and was second only to Rome itself, scarcely a vestige now remains. The hand of time and the hand of barbarism have both swept over it with merciless fury, and buried its ancient glory in the dust and in the sea. Her illustrious schools of theology, astronomy, and various other sciences; her noble library, unique in ancient history; her light-house, one of the seven wonders of the world; all have utterly vanished away, and 'the places there-

of know them no more.' Her former site, thickly strown with fragments of bricks and tiles, showing that even the materials of her former structures have perished, has been dug over, and the foundations of her edifices turned up, in search of stones to build the modern navy-yard and other works of the Pasha.—The only surviving remains of the ancient city are, a few cisterns still in use; the catacombs on the shore west of the city; the granite obelisk of Thothmes III, with its fallen brother, brought hither from Heliopolis, and usually called Cleopatra's Needles; and the column of Diocletian, more commonly known as Pompey's Pillar. This last is upon the highest part of the ancient site, between the modern city and Lake Mareotis. There it stands, towering in loneliness and desolation, the survivor of that splendour which it was intended to heighten; while near at hand the straggling and neglected tombs of a Muhammedan cemetery only serve to render the desolation more mournful.[1] The catacombs are nearly filled with earth, and are difficult to be explored. They consist of halls and apartments with niches for the dead, and with ornaments in the Greek style of architecture. But they are chiefly interesting as being the first Egyptian sepulchres which the traveller meets.—The population of the modern city is reckoned by the best judges at about 40,000 souls.

If the traveller feels on landing in Alexandria, that he has now entered the borders of the oriental world, he is not less strongly reminded of the same fact, when he comes to leave that city, and set off for the interior of Egypt. Until now he has had all the conveniences of travel which exist in Europe and America; he has had only to await the departure of a steamer, and be-

1) See Note I, at the end of the volume.

take himself on board with bag and baggage, without further thought or care. But travelling in Egypt and Syria, is quite a different thing. Here are neither roads, nor public conveyances, nor public houses; and the traveller is thrown back wholly upon his own resources. In Egypt he must hire a boat for himself, unless he can find a companion to share it with him; he must provide his own bed and cooking-utensils, and also his provisions for the journey, except such as he can procure at the villages along the Nile; and withal and above all he must have a servant, who can at the same time act as cook, purveyor, and interpreter. He will soon find himself very much in the power of this important personage, who will usually be able neither to read nor write; and the discomforts and vexations of this relation of dependence will probably continue more and more to press upon him, until he has himself learned something of the Arabic language, or is fortunate enough (as I was) to fall in with a companion to whom the language is familiar.—If the traveller has time, he will do well to purchase the chief necessaries at Alexandria. He needs them just as much during the voyage to Cairo, as afterwards; and he will thus save time and avoid care in the latter city.

Most travellers, on arriving at Alexandria, suppose they have only to take a boat directly from that city along the canal and the Nile to Cairo; and it may be some days before they learn, that at 'Atfeh—where the canal leaves the Nile—they will be compelled to hire another boat; the canal being there shut off from the river by a dam with sluices, but without locks. At this point every thing which passes between Alexandria and Cairo has to be transshipped; to the great inconvenience of the public and the special annoyance of travellers just arrived in the country. The boats

on the canal and river are much the same,—long, narrow, and sharp, with a low cabin at the stern in which one can rarely stand erect; and usually having two low masts with immense lateen sails, their long yards turning around the top of the mast as on a pivot. The cabins for the most part will accommodate only two persons to sit (cross-legged) and sleep in. If a party consists of more, a larger boat will be necessary; which enhances the expense and commonly the length of the voyage.

It was on a delightful morning, Jan. 5th, 1838, that we found ourselves floating for the first time on the bosom of the mighty Nile. In Alexandria we had almost daily showers of rain; and during the night that we had lain by at 'Atfeh, a heavy shower had fallen, clearing the atmosphere, and leaving behind it a fine north wind, which was driving us onward cheerily against the powerful current. It was a moment of excitement; indeed a new emotion was awakened by the first day's sail upon this noble stream, so closely associated with the earliest and choicest recollections of childhood and manhood. It was a glorious sight to look upon the mighty river, rolling its waters for nearly fifteen hundred miles, without a single tributary, through a region which but for it would be a desert; and rendering this desert by its waters the garden of the world. The Rosetta branch of the Nile, where we came upon it, reminded me strongly of the Rhine at Cologne, in its general breadth and current, and in the general character of its banks. The water of the Nile is celebrated for its deliciousness; and is deserving of its fame in this respect. Strangers are apt to drink too freely of it at first; and not unfrequently experience a slight attack of dysentery in consequence. The water is slightly turbid; but becomes clear by filtering through the porous jars of the country; or on

being left to stand in jars, the sides of which have been rubbed with almond-paste.

We had been told in Alexandria that we should probably reach Cairo in three days; but our fine wind lasted only for one day; and it was not until after a voyage of five days in all, that we landed at Bûlak, the port of Cairo. For a whole day previous, we had seen the great pyramids, towering upon the southern horizon. Several other travellers, about the same time, had still longer passages. Our luggage and ourselves were speedily mounted on donkies; and we were soon cantering along the straight road that leads to the gate of Cairo, two English miles distant. This gate opens on the middle of the N. W. side of the great place or square el-Ezbekîyeh; not far from which, on the southern side, lies the Frank quarter. Here we found lodgings in a hotel which had formerly been kept by an Italian; but was now nominally under English management.

At Cairo we found we had fallen, for the present, on evil times. Mr. G. R. Gliddon, the American Consul, was absent in the United States. The English Vice-Consul, to whom I had been particularly addressed, was at first absent; and on his return found himself honoured or burdened by a new appointment, which for the time overwhelmed him with a chaotic mass of business; so that he hardly knew which way to turn. Messrs. Lieder and Kruse, Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, to whom I had letters from the Society in London, and who afterwards rendered us most important services, were at the time confined to their houses by illness. Mr. Gliddon senior had been so kind as to place at our disposal the Janizary of the American Consulate, both during the time of our stay in Cairo, and for our further voyage on the Nile; yet this did not help us much at present;

for Mustafa spoke nothing but Arabic; and we could therefore communicate with him usually only through our other servant. He went with us up the Nile, and we found him at all times honest, faithful, and kind-hearted.

Left thus alone, as strangers in this great city, we determined to leave it as soon as possible for Upper Egypt, hoping for better auspices on our return. We visited therefore at present only the bazars; the slave-market with its abominations; the tombs of the Memlûks, fine specimens of Saracenic architecture now falling to decay; the citadel; and the charming orange-gardens connected with the Pasha's palace at Shubra. As we wandered one day with our servant through the citadel, looking at the apartments of the Pasha, and entering the halls of audience and public business, we stumbled into the room where Habîb Effendi, Governor of Cairo and Minister of the Interior, was transacting the usual routine of matters which came before him. He sat munching in one corner of the room, with several persons around him; and there were other similar groups in various parts of the hall. As persons were continually passing in and out, we did not hesitate to gratify our curiosity; and were retiring, when the Governor sent the Dragoman of the English Consulate after us, inviting us to take coffee with him. As we were still utter strangers in Egypt, and had no friend with us who was *au fait* in such matters, we declined the invitation as politely as we could, on the ground that we had seen his Excellency was very much engaged. The occurrence is not worth mentioning, except as illustrating the mighty change which has taken place in the feelings and conduct of Muhammedans towards Frank Christians.

The weather was fine and the air balmy, all the time we were at Cairo. There had been however

several rainy days shortly before; and especially on Christmas day a violent storm of wind and rain. The thermometer, at sunrise, ranged between 44° and 54° of Farenheit.

The indolence and procrastinating habits of the Egyptians and Arabs, are well known. They seem indeed to have a different version of the good old English maxim; and act as if it were to be read exactly the reverse, viz. "Never to do to-day what can be put off till to-morrow." Under the circumstances in which we were placed, it was of course a slow and wearisome matter to make the necessary preparations; and it was therefore not until the evening of Jan. 19th that we were again upon the Nile, ploughing its current with a fine breeze from the north, under the brilliant light of an African moon.

A voyage upon the Nile at this season, can never be otherwise than interesting. The weather is usually pleasant, and the traveller is surrounded by scenes and objects striking in themselves, and closely associated with all that is great and venerable in the records of the ancient world. The gleaming waters of the mighty river, rushing onward in ceaseless flow; the pyramids, those mysterious monuments of gray antiquity, stretching in a range along the western shore from Gîzeh upwards beyond Sakkârah and Dashûr; the frequent villages along the banks, each in the bosom of its own tall grove of graceful palm-trees; the broad valley, teeming with fertility, and shut in on both sides by ranges of naked, barren mountains, within which the desert is continually striving to enlarge its encroachments; all these are objects which cannot be regarded but with lively emotions. Nor is this wholly a scene of still life. The many boats with broad lateen sails, gliding up and down; the frequent waterwheels, *Sâkieh*, by which water is raised from the

river to irrigate the fields; the more numerous *Shadûfs*, who laboriously ply their little sweep and bucket for the same end;[1] the labourers in the fields; the herds of neat cattle and buffaloes; occasional files of camels and asses; large flocks of pigeons, ducks, and wild-geese; and, as one advances, the occasional sight of crocodiles sleeping on a sand-bank, or plunging into the water; all these give a life and activity to the scene, which enhances the interest and adds to the exhilaration. Yet if the traveller set foot on shore, the romance of his river voyage will quickly be dissipated. He will find the soil becoming an almost impalpable powder under his feet, through which he may wade his way to the next village; and this village too he will find to be only the squalid abode of filth and wretchedness; mud hovels, not high enough to stand up in, built on mounds accumulated in the course of centuries from the ruins of former dwellings.

The voyage from Cairo to Thebes, about 500 miles, varies much as to time, according to the wind; but is accomplished, on the average, in about twenty days. It takes from three to six days more to reach the first cataract at Aswân, 140 miles further. We left Cairo intending to visit Thebes, and to reach the cataract if our time would permit. At first the winds were very favourable. We pressed forward day and night; and on the twelfth day had accomplished more than three quarters of the distance to Thebes. But the wind now changed to the south; and the only mode of advancing further was by tracking. In this slow and very tedious manner, with only a few intervals of sailing, we reached Thebes on the nineteenth day from Cairo. Six months before, in eighteen days, I had crossed the Atlantic from New-York to Liverpool! All hope of reaching the cataract was now abandoned;

1) See Note II, end of the volume.

and we set to work in earnest to employ, in the best manner, the few days we had to devote to the ruins of Thebes.

I am not about to write a description of these wonderful remains of high antiquity. Wilkinson has devoted half his volume to them, without exhausting the subject in any part. The chief points of interest on the western shore, are the Memnonium, the temples of Medînet Habû, the statue of Memnon and its companion, the tombs of the kings, and the tombs in the hill of Sheikh Abd el-Kûrneh. On the eastern shore are the temple of Luksor, and the temple or rather immense cluster of temples of Karnak.

It is impossible to wander among these scenes, and behold these hoary yet magnificent ruins, without emotions of astonishment and deep solemnity. Every thing around testifies of vastness, and of utter desolation. Here lay once that mighty city, whose power and splendour were proverbial throughout the ancient world. The Jewish prophet, in reproaching great Nineveh, breaks forth into the bitter taunt: "Art thou better than populous No [Thebes], that was situate among the rivers, the waters round about it; whose rampart was the sea, and her wall from the sea?"[1] Yet even then Thebes had been "carried away into captivity; her young children dashed in pieces at the top of all her streets; they had cast lots for her honourable men, and all her great men were bound in chains." Subsequently she was again plundered by Cambyses, and destroyed by Ptolemy Lathyrus. Her countless generations have passed away, leaving their mighty works behind, to tell to wanderers from far distant and then unknown climes the story of her greatness and her fall. The desert hills around are filled with their corpses, for which they vainly strove

1) Nah. iii. 8. See Note III, end of the volume.

to procure an exemption from the dread decree: "Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return." For twenty-five centuries they have indeed slept securely in their narrow abodes; from which they are now daily wrested, to be trampled into dust and scattered to the winds.

The character of Egyptian architecture, as exhibited in the temples at Thebes and elsewhere, is heavy and vast; with nothing of that lightness, and harmonious proportion, and beautiful simplicity, which distinguish the Athenian temples. Yet this very vastness, coupled with the associations of the place, produces a strong impression of sublimity. All is gloomy, awful, grand. The most striking specimens of this gigantic architecture, are the great colonnade at Luksor, which we first visited by moonlight; and especially the grand hall at Karnak, "one hundred and seventy feet by three hundred and twenty-nine, supported by a central avenue of twelve massive columns, sixty-six feet high (without the pedestal and abacus), and twelve in diameter; besides one hundred and twenty-two of smaller or rather less gigantic dimensions, forty-one feet nine inches in height, and twenty-seven feet six inches in circumference, distributed in seven lines on either side of the former."[1] Nor were the decorations of these temple-palaces on a scale less imposing. The two colossal statues of Amenoph (usually called of Memnon), seated majestically upon the plain, once guarded the approach to the temple-palace of that king. They are sixty feet high, including the pedestal.[2] The temple has perished; Memnon has long ceased to salute the rising sun; and the two statues now sit in lonely grandeur, to tell what Thebes once was. The stupendous statue of Remeses II. in the Memnonium, a single block of Syenite

1) Wilkinson's Thebes, etc. p. 174. 2) Ibid. p. 35.

granite, now prostrate and shattered, still "measures from the shoulder to the elbow twelve feet ten inches; twenty-two feet four inches across the shoulders; and fourteen feet four inches from the neck to the elbow."[1] This enormous mass is nearly three times as large as the solid contents of the largest obelisk. How it could ever have been transported from Upper Egypt and erected here, is a problem which modern science cannot solve; nor is there much less difficulty in accounting for the manner of its destruction.

The Tombs of the Kings are situated among the barren mountains, which skirt Thebes upon the west; in a narrow valley where desolation sits enthroned. Not a tree nor shrub is to be seen; not a blade of grass or herbage; not even a trace of moss upon the rocks; but all is naked and shattered, as if it had been the sport of thunders and lightnings and earthquakes ever since the creation. The tombs are entered by narrow portals in the sides of this valley, from which a corridor usually leads by a slight descent to halls and apartments on either side, all decorated with paintings in vivid colours, representing scenes drawn from the life of the deceased monarch, and from Egyptian mythology, or sometimes also from the occupations of common life. In this respect these tombs afford the finest illustrations of the manners and customs of the ancient Egyptians. In the chief apartment is usually a large sarcophagus. Here "the kings of the nations, all of them, lay in glory, every one in his own house;" but "they have been cast out as an abominable branch."[2] The tombs of the priests and

1) Wilkinson's Thebes, etc. p. 10.

2) Isa. xiv. 18, 19. From these or similar tombs is drawn apparently the imagery of the Hebrew prophet, Ezek. viii. 8–10: "Then said he unto me, Son of Man, dig now in the wall: and, when I had digged in the wall, behold a door. And he said unto me, Go in, and behold the wicked abominations that they do here. So I went in and saw; and, behold, every form of creeping things, and abominable

private persons are found in the sides of the hills adjacent to the city. They are on a smaller scale; but are often decorated with equal skill and beauty, with scenes drawn from common life.[1]

The walls of all the temples at Thebes are covered with sculptures and hieroglyphics, representing in general the deeds of the kings who founded or enlarged those structures. Many of these afford happy illustrations of Egyptian history. To me the most interesting was the scene which records the exploits of Sheshonk, the Shishak of the Scriptures, who made a successful expedition against Jerusalem in the fifth year of King Rehoboam, B. C. 971.[2] These sculptures are on the exterior of the S. W. wall of the great temple of Karnak. They represent a colossal figure of this monarch advancing, and holding in his hand ten cords, which are attached to as many rows of captives, one above another, behind him. These he presents to the deity of the temple. The upper rows, behind the middle of his back, contain each twelve or fourteen captives; the lower ones extend under his feet, and have more. The heads and shoulders of the captives are complete; while the bodies have merely the form of a *cartouch* with hieroglyphics, containing perhaps the name or character of the individual.[3] In front of the high cap of the monarch, is a cartouch

beasts, and all the idols of the house of Israel, pourtrayed upon the walls round about." There is however no direct evidence that Egyptian sepulchres were made the seat of idolatrous rites or mysteries.

1) See Note IV, end of the vol.

2) 1 Kings xiv. 25, seq. 2 Chron. xii. 2—9.

3) In one of these cartouches Champollion and Rosellini profess to read the words *Yuda Hamelk*, 'King of Judah;' and they consider this captive as the personification of the conquered kingdom of Judah. But Wilkinson has doubts. Indeed it is hardly probable, that all these individuals should represent different nations or tribes, as the same theory assumes. They are too numerous. To me most of them seemed to have Jewish features, with short, peaked beards. Champollion also reads the names *Beth-horon* and *Mahanaim*. See Champollion's Grammaire Egyptienne, p. 160. Rosellini Monumenti Storici, II. p. 79, seq. Wilkinson's Manners and Cust. of the Anc. Egyptians, I. p. 136.

with his name; and behind him, above the rows of captives, the wall is covered with hieroglyphics.

The period in which Thebes enjoyed the highest prosperity, was probably coeval with the reigns of David and Solomon, the earliest Jewish kings. From the language of the prophet Nahum already quoted, who lived, according to Josephus, under King Jotham about B. C. 750, and perhaps for some time later, we learn that the city had already, in or before his day, been sacked, apparently by a foreign conqueror.[1] This event may not improbably stand in connection with the expedition of Tartan alluded to by the cotemporary prophet Isaiah.[2] Profane history is silent in respect to it, and speaks only of the capture of the city by Cambyses, 525 B. C., and of its final destruction by Ptolemy Lathyrus, after a siege of three years, 81 B. C. From this overthrow it never recovered; and in the time of Strabo, as at present, its site was occupied by several villages.[3] The preservation of its magnificent remains, so far as this is not dependent on the purity and uniformity of the atmosphere, must be ascribed, not to any respect or veneration on the part of the people of the land; but solely to the circumstance, that no other city has arisen in the vicinity, to abstract and absorb in its own buildings the materials of the Theban structures.

During our stay at Thebes, and during our whole voyage up and down the river, the weather was uncommonly fine and uniform, and of a temperature like the month of June in the milder parts of Europe and America. The thermometer ranged at sunrise from 40° to 60°; and at 3 P. M. from 68° to 82° Farenheit. The atmosphere was sometimes hazy, and the sky cloudy; but we experienced no frost; although this

1) Jos. Ant. IX. 11. 3. 2) Ch. xx. 3) Strabo XVII. 1. 46.

sometimes occurs. The common report that rain *never* falls in Upper Egypt, is incorrect. One evening as we lay at Kineh, Feb. 4th, there was a slight shower; the thermometer standing at the time at 77° F. with a strong south wind. The valleys too, in the mountains around Thebes, bear evident traces of occasional and violent rain.[1]

We arrived at Thebes in the afternoon of Feb. 7th; and left it again on our return on the morning of Feb. 11th. The downward voyage was slow and tedious; our boat being unfortunately too large to be propelled rapidly with oars, or even to float with the current against a strong head-wind. We stopped for a day at the temple of Dendera; and visited the dilapidated tombs in the mountains back of Siout, where we also enjoyed the noble prospect from the summit. Another day was given to the very remarkable tombs of Beni Hassan, which are among the most ancient in Egypt. We finally reached Cairo on the morning of Feb. 28th; where I had the satisfaction of meeting my future companion, Mr. Smith, who had arrived three days before. Here, in the hospitable dwelling of Mr. Lieder and the welcome society of valued friends, I soon forgot the discomforts of the voyage; and was able to survey, under better auspices than formerly, the city and its interesting environs.

Cairo is one of the best built cities of the East; the houses are of stone, large, lofty, and solid. The streets are narrow and often crooked; and the houses sometimes jut over them upon each side, so as almost to meet above. Its original name in Arabic was *el-*

1) On this point there can be no better authority than Wilkinson. "Showers," he says, "fall *annually* at Thebes; perhaps on an average four or five in the year; and every eight or ten years heavy rains fill the torrent-beds of the mountains, which run to the banks of the Nile. A storm of this kind did much damage to Belzoni's tomb some years ago." Thebes, etc. p. 75.

Kâhirah; but it is now universally called *Musr*, as were the former capitals of Egypt. The population is estimated at about 250,000 souls. In 1835 the plague made fearful ravages in Cairo, sweeping off not less than 80,000 of its inhabitants; but at the time of our visit, the population was supposed to have again reached its usual number. Here, as in Alexandria, donkies with Arab boys take the place of cabs and fiacres. A full and most perfect description of the city and its inhabitants is given in the admirable work of Mr. Lane.[1]

During the twelve days that we now remained at Cairo, we were of course much occupied with the preparations for our future journey in the desert. Yet we took time, and made several excursions from the city to places in the neighbourhood. One was to the Island of Roda just below Musr el-Atîkeh or Old Cairo, on which Ibrahim Pasha has caused pretty gardens to be laid out, partly in the Italian and partly in the English style. On the south end of this island is the famous Nilometer, now half in ruins, dating back at least as far as A. D. 860, and exhibiting pointed arches even at that early period. Although of no utility at present, it is carefully guarded; and we found difficulty in obtaining admission, not having procured the ordinary permit in Cairo. At Musr el-Atîkeh are the remains of a Roman fortress, marking the site of the Egyptian Babylon, on which was afterwards built the city of Fostât, the former Arab capital of Egypt.[2] Passing eastward over the immense field of rubbish on which Fostât once stood, we entered the broad valley or desert plain, which skirts the western base of Jebel Mukattem, to the southward of Cairo. In

1) See Note V, at the end of the volume.

2) Wilkinson's Thebes, etc. p. 309. Edrîsi says expressly, that it was called Babylon by the Greeks; p. 302 ed. Jaubert.

this desert spot is one of the largest cemeteries of the city. Here, amid the thousands of humbler sepulchres, the Pasha has erected a splendid edifice with two domes, to cover the tombs of his family and himself. We were admitted at once, and passed without hindrance through the carpeted halls and among the highly ornamented tombs. Those of the Pasha's wife and his two sons, Ismail and Tussum, are the most conspicuous. In a corner distant from these, we were shown the spot reserved by the Pasha for his own last abode.—Between this and the city, the whole way is full of tombs and sepulchral enclosures.

On another day we rode out to the site of ancient Heliopolis, about two hours N. N. E. from Cairo. The way thither passes along the edge of the desert; which is continually making its encroachments so soon as there ceases to be a supply of water for the surface of the ground. The water of the Nile soaks through the earth for some distance under this sandy tract; and is everywhere found on digging wells eighteen or twenty feet deep. Such wells are very frequent in parts which the inundation does not reach. The water is raised from them by wheels turned by oxen, and applied to the irrigation of the fields. Wherever this takes place, the desert is quickly converted into a fruitful field. In passing to Heliopolis we saw several such fields in the different stages of being reclaimed from the desert; some just laid out, others already fertile. In returning by another way, more eastward, we passed a succession of beautiful plantations wholly dependent on this mode of irrigation. The site of Heliopolis is marked by low mounds, inclosing a space about three quarters of a mile in length, by half a mile in breadth; which was once occupied partly by houses and partly by the celebrated temple of the Sun. This area is now a ploughed field, a garden of herbs; and the soli-

tary obelisk which still rises in the midst, is the sole remnant of the former splendours of the place. This was that On of the Egyptians, where the father of Joseph's wife was priest.[1] The Seventy translate the name On by Heliopolis, City of the Sun; and the Hebrew prophet calls it, in the same sense, Bethshemesh.[2] The city suffered greatly from the invasion of Cambyses; and in Strabo's time it was a mass of splendid ruins.[3] In the days of Edrîsi and Abdallatif, the place bore the name of 'Ain Shems;[4] and in the neighbouring village Matarîyeh is still shown an ancient well bearing the same name. Near by it is a very old sycamore, its trunk straggling and gnarled, under which legendary tradition relates that the holy family once rested.

Farther to the N. E., towards Belbeis, are several ruined towns on lofty mounds, traditionally called *Tell el-Yehûd*, 'Mounds of the Jews.' If there is any historical foundation for this name, which is doubtful, these mounds can only be referred back to the period of the Ptolemies, in the centuries immediately before the Christian era, when great numbers of Jews resorted to Egypt and erected a temple at Leontopolis. It was in the same age, and for these Jews, that the Greek version of the Old Testament was made.[5]

Our most important excursion was to the pyramids, situated about six miles west of el-Gîzeh, which lies on the left bank of the Nile, opposite Old Cairo. Crossing the river at the place, we proceeded on a

1) Gen. xli. 45. Sept. ib. Ex. i. 11. Ezek. xxx. 17. Herodot. II. 3, 59.
2) Jer. xliii. 13.
3) Strabo XVII. 1. 27.
4) Edrîsi, pp. 306, 7, ed. Jaubert. Abdallatif Relat. de l'Egypte, par de Sacy, p. 180, seq.
5) Wilkinson's Thebes, etc. p. 323. Niebuhr's Reisebeschr. I. p. 213. Joseph. Antiq. XIII. 3. 1, 2, 3. c. Apion. 2. 5.—The name of Theodotus, bishop of Leontopolis in Egypt, occurs among the signatures of the second council of Constantinople, A. D. 553. Harduin Acta Concilior. III. p. 52. Comp. le Quien Oriens Christ. Tom II. p. 554.

direct course to the pyramids; although at other seasons of the year, when the river is higher, a considerable circuit is necessary, in order to cross the Bahr Yûsuf, the canal which runs parallel to the Nile. Even now the water in it was so deep, that we could not well pass it on donkies; but were carried over on the shoulders of Arabs from the adjacent villages. The pyramids, as seen from the river against the horizon, appeared enormously large; as we approached, their apparent magnitude continually diminished; and was nowhere less, than as seen from the foot of the rocky terrace on which they stand. This terrace is about one hundred and fifty feet above the plain; and the pyramids are thus seen only against the sky, without any surrounding objects from which the eye can judge of their relative magnitude. They seem here to be composed of small stones, and to have no great elevation. But as we approached their base, and became aware of the full size of the stones, and looked upward along their mountain-sides to the summit, their huge masses seemed to swell into immensity, and the idea of their vastness was absolutely overpowering. They are probably the earliest, as well as the loftiest and most vast of all existing works of man upon the face of the earth; and there seems now little room to doubt, that they were erected chiefly, if not solely, as the sepulchres of kings. Vain pride of human pomp and power! Their monuments remain unto this day, the wonder of all time; but themselves, their history, and their very names, have been swept away in the dark tide of oblivion.

We followed the usual course of visitors. We explored the dark passages of the interior; mounted to the summit of the great pyramid; and admired the mild features of the gigantic Sphynx, the body of which is again nearly covered by the drifting sand. We also

visited several of the adjacent tombs; and examined those which had then recently been cleared from the sand, under the direction of Col. Vyse.—The ascent of the great pyramid is less difficult, than a visit to its interior. The top is now a square platform of about thirty feet on each side, at an elevation of four hundred and seventy-four feet above the base.[1] The view from it is very extensive; in front, Cairo and numerous villages, with their groves of slender palm-trees; in the rear, the trackless Libyan wastes; on the south, the range of smaller pyramids extending for a great distance along the edge of the desert; and then in boundless prospect, north and south, the mighty river, winding its way through the long line of verdure which it has won by its waters from the reluctant grasp of the desert upon either side. The platform is covered with the names of travellers, who have resorted hither in different ages from various and distant lands; and have here stood as upon a common and central point in the history of the world. Here too we found an American corner, with the names both of living and departed friends.

We left the great pyramids the same evening, and proceeded southwards along the edge of the desert to Sakkâra, where we slept; and the next morning visited the tombs in the neighbouring cliffs and the great necropolis around the adjacent pyramids. The whole tract here was anciently a cemetery. Pits leading to the chambers of death have been opened in every direction; and the ground is everywhere strewed with the bones and cerements of mummies. Such a field of dead men's bones, I have nowhere else seen. There can be little doubt, that all this long tract, from the pyramids of Gîzeh to those of Dashûr, was once the

1) Wilkinson's Thebes, etc. p. 323.

great necropolis of ancient Memphis, which lay between it and the Nile.[1]

We now bent our course towards Mitraheny, near the river, where are the large mounds which mark the site of Memphis.[2] These mounds of rubbish, a colossal statue sunk deep in the ground, and a few fragments of granite, are all that remain to attest the existence of this renowned capital. In Strabo's time, although partly in ruins, it was yet a populous city, second only to Alexandria; and in the days of Abdallatif there were still extensive ruins.[3] In this instance the abodes of the dead have proved to be more lasting than the habitations of the living. But the total disappearance of all the ancient edifices of Memphis is easily accounted for, by the circumstance, that the materials of them were employed for the building of adjacent cities. Fostât arose out of the ruins of Memphis; and when that city was in turn deserted, these ruins again migrated to the more modern Cairo.—We crossed the river, and having visited the ancient quarries near Tûra, from which the stones were cut for the pyramids, we returned to Cairo along the eastern bank.

A few words on the political and social condition of Egypt under its present ruler, Muhammed 'Aly, may close this introductory section. This extraordinary man, with native talents which in other circumstances might have made him the Napoleon of the age, has accumulated in Egypt a large amount of wealth and power; but he has done it only for himself,—not for

1) Two of the pyramids of Dashûr are built of brick. We had often occasion to see both the ancient and modern bricks of Egypt. They are unburnt, and are made of the mud of the Nile mingled with chopped straw to bind it together; on the same principle that hair is sometimes used in making mortar. Compare the narrative in Ex. v. 7, seq.

2) In Arabic *Menf*, in Hebrew *Moph*, Hos. ix. 6. Also under the name of *Noph*, Is. xix. 13. Jer. ii. 16.

3) Strabo lib. XVII. 1. 32. Abdallatif Relation de l'Egypte, par de Sacy, p. 184, seq. Abdallatif was born A. D. 1161.

the country, nor even for his family. He has built up an army and fleet, not by husbanding and enlarging the resources of Egypt, but by draining them almost to exhaustion. The army consists chiefly of levies torn from their families and homes by brutal force. We saw many gangs of these unfortunate recruits on the river and around Cairo, fastened by the neck to a long heavy chain which rested on their shoulders. Such is the horror of this service among the peasantry, and their dread of being thus seized, that children are often mutilated in their fingers, their teeth, or an eye, in order to protect them from it.[1] Yet the country is now so drained of able-bodied men, that even these unfortunate beings are no longer spared. In the companies of recruits which were daily under drill around the Ezbekîyeh, we saw very many who had lost a finger, or their front teeth; so that an English resident proposed in bitter irony to recommend to the Pasha, that his troops should appear only in gloves. Indeed, it is a notorious fact, that this drain of men for the army and navy has diminished and exhausted the population, until there are not labourers enough left to till the ground; so that in consequence large tracts of fertile land are suffered to lie waste.

The same line of policy, or impolicy, has been pursued in the introduction of manufactures and schools of science. The sole object of the Pasha has been, not to benefit the nation, but to augment his own wealth, and increase the capability of the instruments of his power. With barbarian eagerness, he has overlooked the planting of the seed, and grasps only after

1) "There is now (in 1834) seldom to be found, in any of the villages, an able-bodied youth or young man, who has not had one or more of his teeth broken out, (that he may not be able to bite a cartridge,) or a finger cut off, or an eye pulled out or blinded, to prevent his being taken for a recruit." Lane's Modern Egyptians, I. p. 246.

the ripe fruit. Not a step has been taken for the education and improvement of the people at large; but all the schools established are intended solely to train up young men for his own service. The workmen in the manufactories in like manner labour only by compulsion, and are recruited by force in the same manner as the soldiers. When once a manufactory of any article has been established by the Pasha, it is made a complete monopoly; and the people must purchase from him that article at his own price, or go without. Thus, not a family in Egypt dares to spin and weave the cotton stuffs which they wear upon their own bodies.

The people of Egypt, formerly the owners as well as the tillers of the soil, would seem to be an object of peculiar and wanton oppression to the government, or at least to its subordinate ministers. Whenever requisitions are made upon the people by the former, the latter are sure to extort nearly the double. By a single decree, the Pasha declared himself to be the sole owner of all the lands in Egypt; and the people of course became at once only his tenants at will, or rather his slaves. It is interesting to compare this proceeding with a similar event in the ancient history of Egypt under the Pharaohs.[1] At the entreaty of the people themselves, Joseph *bought* them and their land for Pharaoh, so that "the land became Pharaoh's;" but he gave them bread in return, to sustain them and their families in the time of famine. "Only the land of the priests he bought not;" but the modern Pharaoh made no exception, and stripped the mosks and other religious and charitable institutions of their landed endowments, as mercilessly as the rest. Joseph also gave the people seed to sow, and required

1) Gen. xlvii. 18—26.

for the king only a fifth of the produce, leaving four fifths to them as their own property; but now, though seed is in like manner given out, yet every village is compelled to cultivate two thirds of its lands with cotton and other articles solely for the Pasha; and also to render back to him, in the form of taxes and exactions in kind, a large proportion of the produce of the remaining third. And further, not only is every individual held responsible for the burdens laid upon himself; but also, as the inhabitant of a village, he is bound to make good in part or in whole, as the case may be, the delinquency or arrears of every other inhabitant. Sometimes, too, a village which has paid up all its own dues, is compelled to make good the arrears of another village. As might be expected in such a state of things, there is among the peasantry an utter depravation of morals and degradation of character.[1]

Of Muhammed 'Aly himself, it is universally admitted in Egypt, that while he is energetic and severe, he is yet by nature neither cruel nor revengeful. The people in general do not ascribe their oppression so much to the Pasha, as to his subordinate agents. They suppose, that if the murmurs of the peasantry could reach his ear, the immediate and pressing evils would be remedied.[2] In one respect, the energy of Muhammed 'Aly deserves all praise; although the severity by which it is attended may not always be the most justifiable. He has rendered the countries under his sway secure; so that travellers, whether Orientals or Franks, may pass in their own dress throughout Egypt and Syria, and also among the Bedawîn of the adjacent deserts, with the same degree of safety as in many parts of civilized Europe.—How different might

1) Compare Lane's Account, etc. I. p. 156, seq.

2) Comp. Wilkinson's Thebes, etc. p. 282.

have been the state of Egypt, had he adapted his measures to the true policy of the country; and instead of aggrandizing himself by grasping rapacity and foreign conquest, had made Egypt what it ought to be, an agricultural nation, and diffused the blessings of personal freedom and education among the people! Under such a policy, the extreme fertility of the soil and its capacity for the production of almost every article of consumption and commerce, would soon have enlarged the resources of the country to an unlimited extent; and given to Egypt once more a name and rank among the nations of the earth.

In one point of view, the innovations of the present ruler of Egypt open up a cheering prospect. His whole line of policy has been obviously founded on a conviction and tacit acknowledgment of the superiority of European arts and arms. The discipline of his troops, the organization of his fleet, the establishment of schools and manufactories, have all sprung from this principle; and are an attempt on his part to procure, by a forced process, advantages, which can only result from a gradual and general development and improvement. True, he might as well expect to reap where he has not sown; or command the fruit to spring ripe from the tree, without the intervention of blossoms. Yet one good effect has resulted from his measures; this same conviction of European superiority has spread from the ruler among the people; and, in consequence, the stronghold of Muhammedan prejudice and contempt towards European Christians, is fast breaking down and vanishing away. Then too, from the example of Egypt, a similar conviction has been forced upon the ruler of the Turkish empire; and the like effects are rapidly developing themselves in his dominions. Even now, Franks in their own dress may wander alone through all the streets of Cairo and Constantinople,

and of other oriental cities, as freely as in London or New-York, without hindrance or molestation; where fifteen years ago they would have been followed with curses, and perhaps with stones. If they travel in the interior, they are everywhere received with courtesy, and usually with kindness. Such at least was the result of our inquiries and experience.—A still more important consequence of this state of things has been, that the Egyptian government, and recently that of Turkey also, have placed their native Christian subjects on an equal footing with the Muhammedans, as to civil rights and justice; and have done away, or at least forbidden, the hereditary and wanton oppressions exercised by the latter.[1]

All these things mark important changes as having already taken place in the oriental character and feelings; and new causes are daily springing into operation, which will necessarily render these changes not only permanent, but progressive. The introduction of steam-navigation in the Levant and on the Nile and Black Sea, is bringing the power of European civilization into still closer contact with the East, and cannot but augment its influence a thousand-fold. Already the oriental churches are in parts beginning to awake from their slumber; and the whole fabric of Muhammedan prejudice and superstition is sapped and tottering to its fall. In all human probability, the coming generation will behold changes and revolutions in the oriental world, of which few now have any conception. Then may the Egyptian people be freed from the oppressions under which they now

1) Since the above paragraphs were written, Sultan Mahmûd has descended to the tomb; and the battle of Nizib and the defection of the Turkish fleet have demonstrated the comparative strength and weakness of the Egyptian and Turkish governments at the time. Yet I see no reason for changing any of the views expressed in the text.—For the best books, etc. on Egypt, see Note VI.

groan,—a bondage more galling than that inflicted by their ancestors upon the Israelites of old; then may Egypt cease to be, what she so long has been, "the basest of kingdoms."

In respect to our further journey, it may be proper to remark, that I entered upon it without the slightest anticipation of the results to which we were providentially led. My first motive had been simply the gratification of personal feelings. As in the case of most of my countrymen, especially in New England, the scenes of the Bible had made a deep impression upon my mind from the earliest childhood; and afterwards in riper years this feeling had grown into a strong desire to visit in person the places so remarkable in the history of the human race. Indeed in no country of the world, perhaps, is such a feeling more widely diffused than in New England; in no country are the Scriptures better known, or more highly prized. From his earliest years the child is there accustomed not only to read the Bible for himself; but he also reads or listens to it in the morning and evening devotions of the family, in the daily village-school, in the Sunday-school and Bible-class, and in the weekly ministrations of the sanctuary. Hence, as he grows up, the names of Sinai, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, the Promised Land, become associated with his earliest recollections and holiest feelings.—With all this, in my own case, there had subsequently become connected a scientific motive. I had long meditated the preparation of a work on Biblical Geography; and wished to satisfy myself by personal observation, as to many points on which I could find no information in the books of travellers. This indeed grew to be the main object of our journey—the nucleus around which all our inquiries and observations clustered. But I never

thought of adding any thing to the former stock of knowledge on these subjects; I never dreamed of any thing like discoveries in this field. Palestine had for centuries been visited by many travellers; and I knew that Schubert had just preceded us, to explore the country in its physical aspects, its botany and geology; and we could hope to add nothing to what he and others had observed.

Under the influence of these impressions, we carried with us no instruments, except an ordinary surveyor's and two pocket compasses, a thermometer, telescopes, and measuring-tapes; expecting to take only such bearings and measurements as might occur to us upon the road, without going out of our way to seek for them. But as we came to Sinai, and saw how much former travellers had left undescribed; and then crossed the great desert through a region hitherto almost unknown, and found the names and sites of long-forgotten cities; we became convinced that there "yet remained much land to be possessed," and determined to do what we could with our limited means towards supplying the deficiency. Both Mr. Smith and myself kept separate journals; each taking pencil-notes upon the spot of every thing we wished to record, and writing them out in full usually the same evening; but we never compared our notes. These journals are now in my hands; and from them the following work has been compiled. On thus comparing them for the first time, I have been surprised and gratified at their almost entire coincidence. My own notes were in general more full in specifications of time, the course, the features of the country, and personal incidents; while those of my companion were necessarily my sole dependence in respect to Arabic names and their orthography, and chiefly so as to all information derived orally from the Arabs. The bear-

ings also were mostly taken by Mr. Smith; since it often required a great deal of questioning and cross-examination, in order to extract the necessary information from the Arabs as to distant places and their names. This department therefore naturally fell to him; while I contented myself usually with taking the bearings of such places as were already known to us. It is only since my return, that I became aware of the value of the materials thus collected, in a geographical point of view, from the judgment passed on them by eminent geographers; and I look back with painful regret on the circumstances, which prevented me from taking along more perfect instruments, and from obtaining a more exact knowledge of the observations necessary for the trigonometrical construction of a map.

With books we were better supplied. First of all we had our BIBLES, both in English and in the original tongues; and then RELAND'S *Palæstina*, which next to the Bible is the most important book for travellers in the Holy Land. We had also RAUMER'S *Palästina*, BURCKHARDT'S *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, the English compilation from LABORDE'S *Voyage en Arabie Petrée*, and the *Modern Traveller* in Arabia, Palestine, and Syria. Were I to make the journey again, considering the difficulty of transporting books, I should hardly add much to the above list, excepting perhaps a compendious History of the Crusades, and the volume of RITTER'S *Erdkunde*, containing Palestine in the second edition. At Jerusalem we had access to the works of Josephus, and of several travellers.—We had with us LABORDE'S large Map of Sinai and Arabia Petraea; and also BERGHAUS' Map of Syria, the best undoubtedly up to the present time, but which was of little service to us in the parts of the country we visited.

SECTION II.

FROM CAIRO TO SUEZ.

The preparations for a journey of some thirty days through the desert, occupied a good deal of time. A tent was to be purchased and fitted up; water-skins were to be procured and kept full of water, which was to be changed every day in order to extract the strong taste of the leather; provisions were to be laid in for a whole month, as we could hope to obtain little either at Suez or at the Convent; besides all the numerous smaller articles which are essential to the traveller's progress and health, even if he renounce all expectation of convenience and comfort. In all these purchases we were greatly indebted to the faithful services of our Janizary Mustafa, whom we remember with gratitude.

We chose a large tent with a single pole. This was folded into two rolls, for which we had sacks; so that it was easily packed and loaded, and suffered little damage on the way. We had large pieces of painted canvass to spread upon the ground under our beds; and found these more convenient than poles or bedsteads; as the matresses could be rolled up in them during the day, and thus be protected from dust or rain. At a later period, when we came to travel with horses and mules in Palestine, we left our matresses behind, taking only blankets and other covering, which might by day be thrown over our saddles. Indeed, if

he choose, the traveller can very well do without either bed or tent, provided he has cloaks and covering enough to protect him from the night-chill. But to us it was important to keep a tolerably full record of our observations; and for this a tent and lights were necessary. Our provisions consisted chiefly of rice and biscuit. The latter is bulky; and at a later period we substituted for it flour, from which our servants made unleavened bread; this was baked in thin cakes upon an iron plate, and proved quite palatable and not unwholesome. Flesh may be obtained occasionally from the Arabs upon the way. With coffee, tea, sugar, butter, dried apricots, tobacco, wax-candles, etc. we were well supplied. We found the dried apricots quite a luxury in the desert; and a timely distribution of coffee and tobacco among the Arabs is an easy mode of winning their favour and confidence. We had wooden boxes, like those of the Mecca pilgrims, for packing many of the articles; but afterwards abandoned them for small sacks and larger saddle-bags of hair-cloth, like those of the Bedawîn. These proved to be more advantageous, as diminishing the bulk of the loads, and thus removing a source of expense and a cause of grumbling among the camel-drivers and muleteers. We took also a supply of charcoal, which proved of essential service.

We hired two Egyptian servants, who continued with us all the way to Beirût. The elder, whom we knew only by the name of Komeh, (although that seemed not to be his real name,) was a fine resolute fellow, faithful and trust-worthy in all he undertook, and ready to stand by us to the last drop of blood. He spoke nothing but Arabic; had formerly been sent with a missionary family to Abyssinia, as their guide and purveyor; and had also been at Mecca; for which reason he was sometimes dignified with the title of

Hajji Komeh. The younger, Ibrahim, spoke a little English, and answered our purpose well enough as a helper to the other.

It was for a time quite a matter of deliberation with us, whether we should take any arms. We knew that the country was entirely safe, and arms unnecessary, as far as 'Akabah, and also in Palestine; but as to the desert tracts between, we were not so sure. We might very probably come in contact with the lawless hordes that roam through these wastes; and then the mere *show* of arms would protect us from annoyance and vexations, which might be attempted if we were known to be wholly unarmed. On this ground we purchased two old muskets and a pair of old pistols, in which our servants and Arab guides usually took great pride; and we afterwards had reason to believe that we had acted wisely. It will of course be understood, that we never had a thought of actually using these weapons for personal defence against the Arabs; for this, we knew, would only bring down tenfold vengeance on our heads.

The time has gone by when it was necessary for a Frank to assume the oriental dress in any part of Egypt or Syria. It may sometimes be convenient to do so, if he is to reside long in the country; but in the case of the mere traveller, it now only excites the ridicule of the natives. A person in a Frank dress, with a long beard, they hold to be a Jew. We usually wore the *Tarbûsh* or red cap of the country, as a matter of convenience; but in the desert a broad-brimmed hat of light materials is desirable. We also took with us each a common Arab cloak, to throw over our Frank dresses in case of suspicious appearances at a distance; but we were never called to use them on any occasion of this kind.

In consequence of an application from Mr. Gliddon

senior, we received from the Pasha a Firmân, or properly speaking a *Bûyuruldy*, for our protection; and the English Vice-Consul, Dr. Walne, was so kind as to procure for us a letter from Habîb Effendi to the Governor of 'Akabah, and another from the Greek Convent in Cairo to that in Mount Sinai. At the English Consulate we also found Bedawîn from Sinai; many of whom are continually in Cairo with their camels, and are much employed in transporting coals from thence to Suez, for the steam-vessels on the Red Sea. We had wished to obtain Tuweileb as our guide, who has of late years become so well known among travellers; but he was not then in Cairo. We therefore, with the help of the English Dragoman, made a contract for camels and attendants with Beshârah, who had formerly accompanied Laborde, and was now grown into a man of weight in his tribe, though not a regular Sheikh. After a long talk and some clamour, the bargain was completed for three dromedaries and five camels, at the rate of one hundred and ninety Piastres each, from Cairo to 'Akabah;[1] it being also agreed that Tuweileb should accompany us from the Convent. The contract was immediately written down by an ordinary scribe upon his knee, and signed and sealed in a very primitive manner. Most of the Arabs of the towns have each his signet-ring, either worn on the finger or suspended from the neck; the impression of which serves as his signature; but the poor Bedawy of the desert commonly has little to do with such matters, and has therefore no seal. Instead

1) The Spanish pillared dollar, or *colonnato*, was then regularly worth in Egypt and Syria 21 Piastres; while all other dollars, Austrian, Italian, or American, were valued at 20 Piastres. In Constantinople the Spanish dollar fluctuated between 22 and 23 Piastres; and the others were usually current at about 21 Piastres.—The most acceptable coin among the Arabs were the small gold pieces of nine Piastres; though they also took the larger gold coins without difficulty.

of it, Beshârah presented one of his fingers to the Dragoman, who besmeared the tip of it with ink, and then gravely impressed it upon the paper; which to him was then doubtless just as binding as if sealed with gold or jewels. He proved a very faithful and obliging conductor, and fulfilled his contract honourably. He was of the Aulâd Sa'îd or Sa'îdîyeh, one of the three divisions of the Tawarah Arabs which have the right of taking travellers to the Convent, and are reckoned as its Ghafîrs or protectors. Tuweileb, he said, was his brother; which probably meant no more, than that he belonged to the same tribe.

We engaged our animals quite to 'Akabah, in order to avoid the trouble of making a new bargain at the Convent; and found the arrangement to be a convenient one.—The only difference between the camel and the dromedary is, that the latter is trained for riding and the former for burdens. The distinction, at the most, is the same as between a riding-horse and a pack-horse; but among the Bedawîn, so far as our experience went, it seemed to amount to little more, than that the one had a riding-saddle, and the other a pack-saddle.

There are three principal routes from Cairo to Suez, viz. the Derb el-Haj, Derb el-'Ankebîyeh, and Derb el-Besâtîn. The first leads from Cairo to the Birket el-Haj, a small lake a few miles northeastward of Heliopolis, and four hours from Cairo, where the pilgrims of the great Mecca caravan or Haj assemble; thence its course is to the south of east to 'Ajrûd. The second, the usual route of the Tawarah Arabs, proceeds from Cairo directly eastward to 'Ajrûd, and falls into the Haj-route a day's journey before reaching that place. The third takes a southern direction from Cairo, by the village el-Besâtîn and around the end of Jebel el-Mukattem, and passing south of this moun-

tain and then north of Jebel Gharbûn and Jebel 'Atâkah, it also falls into the Haj-route several hours west of 'Ajrûd. A branch of the same road passes south of both these latter mountains through Wady Tawârik to the coast some distance below Suez.—A fourth and longer road north of the Haj-route, called Derb el-Bân, leaves the region of the Nile at Abu Za'bel, and proceeding towards 'Ajrûd, falls into the main trunk before reaching that fortress.

It had been our wish to take a still more circuitous route from Cairo to Suez, descending the eastern branch or canal of the Nile beyond Belbeis as far as to the province Shŭrkîyeh, and thence along the valley of the ancient canal to the head of the Gulf of Suez. Our object in taking this route would have been to make inquiries and observations personally in relation to the land of Goshen and the Exodus of the Israelites. But the season was already too far advanced, and our time was limited; so that we were compelled to take the usual and shortest route, the Derb el-'Ankebîyeh. This was travelled by Burckhardt in 1816, and has not been described since.

Monday, March 12*th*, 1838. This was the day fixed for our departure from Cairo. We had directed the Arabs to come in good season, hoping to make an early start and reach Suez on the third day. Accordingly at six o'clock A. M. the camels were already at our door, filling the narrow street with their cries, or rather growls. The time spent in packing and arranging so many articles, and in procuring others that were still wanting, was very considerable; and then it was found that another camel would be necessary. Our servants had fixed the number at five for themselves and the luggage; but they had reckoned upon the strong, heavy camels of Egypt, which carry a load of 600 *Rŭtl* of twelve ounces; while the camels of the

Bedawîn are more slender and usually carry only two thirds as much. In consequence of all these delays, and the clamour and wrangling of the Arabs in loading the camels, it was one o'clock P. M. ere we bade adieu to our excellent friends, and set our faces toward the desert. Passing out at the Shubra gate as the nearest, we kept along near the wall towards the Bâb en-Nŭsr or Gate of Victory on the east side of the city, and at length halted near Kâid Beg, not far from the splendid but now neglected tombs of the Memlûk kings. Here the camels were unloaded, while the men went to the city for provisions and provender. At their return the luggage was re-arranged, and the loads of the camels adjusted for the whole journey; as this could not be done so well in the narrow streets of the city. All this caused a delay of several hours. The Rev. Mr. Lieder, who had accompanied us thus far, here bade us farewell; as did also the faithful Mustafa.

Mounting again at five o'clock we proceeded on our way, having on the left a desert plain apparently once tilled; and on the right the Red Mountain and low ridges connected with Jebel el-Mukattem. In thirty-five minutes we crossed Wady Liblâbeh, the broad, shallow bed of a torrent, and entered among low hills of sand and gravel, strewed with pebbles of flint, coarse jasper, and chalcedony, and also with frequent specimens of petrified wood; the latter probably brought hither in some way from the petrified forest on the S. S. E. of the Red Mountain.[1] In one place we saw the petrified trunk of a tree, eight or ten feet long, broken in several pieces. The path was a mere camel track. We rode on until 7^h 05′ P. M. and then pitched our tent for the night in Wady en-Nehe-

1) See Wilkinson's Thebes, etc. p. 319.

dein. All these Wadys of the desert are mere water-beds, or slight depressions in the surface, by which the water flows off in the rainy season; while at all other times they are dry. Yet in uneven or mountainous regions, the same name, Wady, is applied to the deepest ravines and broadest vallies. Here the Wadys all descend N. or N. W. to the borders of the Nile; but many of them probably run together before leaving the desert.

Our Arabs, as they walked by our side, were full of song and glee, at the idea of being once more free from the city and abroad upon their native wastes. To me also it was a new and exciting feeling, to find ourselves thus alone in the midst of the desert, in the true style of oriental travel; carrying with us our house, our provisions, and our supply of water for many days; and surrounded by camels and the wild 'sons of the desert,' in a region, where the eye could find nought to rest upon but desolation. It was a scene which had often taken possession of my youthful imagination; but which I had not dared to hope would ever be realized. Yet all was now present in reality; and the journey which had so long been the object of my desires and aims was actually begun.

The evening had already closed in, and the moon was shining brightly, when we halted for the night. The tent was soon pitched; a fire kindled; and as it was now too late to let the camels browse, they were made to lie down around the tent, and were fed with a small quantity of beans in a bag drawn over the nose. To secure them for the night they are usually fastened one to another; or a halter is tied round one of the fore legs as it lies folded together, in order to prevent the animal from rising. It was too late, and the situation too new, to think of much comfort in this our first night in a tent; and therefore arranging our

beds, each as he best could, we soon laid ourselves down to rest.

Tuesday, March 13th. Rising early and taking a slight breakfast, we were again upon our way at $6\frac{3}{4}$ o'clock, A. M. We crossed in succession Jerf el-Mukâwa, Wady Abu Hailezôn, Wady Ansûry; and at 12^h 20′ reached Wady el-'Ankebîyeh er-Reiyâneh, "the wet," which gives name to the road.[1] The way continued much the same as yesterday. The ridges on the right, extending eastward from Jebel el-Mukattem, became gradually lower and broken up into small hills, like those upon the left. Specimens of petrified wood were abundant; and among the pebbles with which the ground was strewed, jaspers and chalcedonies were still common. A less pleasing sight was the frequent carcasses and skeletons of camels, which had broken down and died by the way. The day was clear, with a cold wind from the N. N. E., the thermometer at 10 o'clock standing at 59° F. so that we were glad to ride all day in our cloaks.—In Wady el-'Ankebîyeh, on the left of the road, our guides pointed out the spot where (as they said) an unsuccessful attempt was made to bore for water a few years since. Water, they said, was found in small quantities, but soon disappeared. Rüppell mentions this or a similar attempt, as having been made in Wady Gandali on the southern route, at a point three hours southward from the direct road.[2]

On the low rise of ground beyond this Wady, lay the petrified trunk of a tree eighteen feet long, broken in several pieces; but the specimens of petrified wood extend no further. At 1 o'clock P. M. the mountains of 'Aweibid and 'Atâkah came in sight at a great

1) The relative distances of all these points are specified very exactly in the Itinerary of our journey; see at the end of Vol. III, First Appendix, C.

2) Reise in Abyss. I. p. 101, 102.

distance before us. The road passes between them. We now descended into Wady el-'Ankebîyeh el-'Ateshâneh, "the dry," and soon after passed a mass of black stones on the left, looking at a distance like the crater of an extinct volcano. Wady el-'Eshrah and Wady el-Furn soon followed; and then we entered upon an immense plain, called by Burckhardt el-Mukrih, but which our Arabs named differently in various parts, after the Wadys that run across it. This plain is skirted on the S. by a low ridge running from W. to E. called Mukrih el-Weberah; beyond which is seen the higher mountain, Jebel Gharbûn. At 4^h 55′ we encamped near some hills on the left, in a tract called el-Mawâlih, from a salt-hill a little further east, whence our Arabs brought us specimens of very good salt. From this point 'Aweibid bore E. 3° S.; 'Atâkeh, east end as here seen, E. 15° S.; Jebel Gharbûn E. 29° S.

The camels were now turned loose for a time, to browse on the scanty shrubs and herbs which they might find; and were then fed as before with a few beans or a little barley. This was their whole sustenance day after day; except the few mouthfuls which they could occasionally snatch upon the march. The peculiar gait of the camel causes a long rocking motion, which to the rider is monotonous and tiresome. They lie down for the rider to mount; but it requires some little practice in a novice, not to be thrown over the animal's head, when he awkwardly rises upon his hinder legs first. During the march, it is not usual to make them lie down; but the driver stoops and presents his shoulders for the rider to mount upon.—We now had time to arrange matters more to our mind within our tent; so that on encamping hereafter, it was the work of only a few minutes to put every thing in order. It usually took an hour or two to prepare

dinner; during which interval and afterwards, we had time to make observations, and write out in full the pencil-notes of the day.

The desert which we were now crossing, is not sandy; but its surface, for the most part, is a hard gravel, often strewed with pebbles. Numerous Wadys or shallow water-courses intersect its surface, all flowing towards the N. and N. W. In all these Wadys there are usually to be found scattered tufts of herbs, or shrubs; on which the camels browse as they pass along, and which serve likewise as their pasturage when turned loose at night. During the rainy season also, and afterwards, the inhabitants of Belbeis and the Shŭrkîyeh, as probably did the Israelites of old, still drive their mingled flocks of sheep and goats for pasturage to this quarter of the desert. During the present year there had been no rain; and the whole aspect of the desert and its Wadys was dry and parched. The rains usually fall here in December and January; and extend sometimes into March or even April.[1]

We found to-day upon the shrubs an insect, either a species of black locust or much resembling them, which our Bedawîn called *Faras el-Jundy*, 'soldier's horses.'[2] They said these insects were common in Mount Sinai, of a green colour; and were found on date trees, but did them no injury.

Wednesday, March 14th. We set off at 6h 20′ A. M. and travelled most of the day over the great plain on which we had entered yesterday. At 9 o'clock we reached Wady Jendal, at a point about three miles S. of Dâr el-Hŭmra, the first station on the Haj-route,

1) Brown had rain for 4¼ hours in March; see his Travels, c. XIV. p. 175. In the middle of April, 1831, heavy rain fell for two days in and around Suez; Rüppell's Reise in Abyssinien, I. p. 104.

2) Compare the language in Rev. ix. 7.

marked by a single acacia-tree standing alone in this wide waste. Further on we saw on that route, the tomb of a Sheikh, who had died on his pilgrimage,—a mere pyramid of stones. Crossing Wady Athîleh, we were at 10h 35′ directly S. of Bîr el-Bŭtr, indicated by reddish mounds of sand thrown up in digging a well. According to Burckhardt this well was begun about seventy years ago by command of Aly Bey; but on reaching the depth of eighty feet without finding water, it was abandoned.[1] At 12h 55′ we came to Wady Hufeiry, a broad, shallow depression, which as our guides said runs down to Belbeis. It is the last Wady we passed, running in that direction; and probably receives on the way many of those we had already crossed. In it, our road and that of the Haj come together; and the plain is covered with parallel tracks. The camels of loaded caravans are usually fastened one behind another in single file, and thus make one deep track or footpath; but in the Haj and in a small party like ours, they are left to choose their own way, and seldom follow each other in a line; so that many parallel tracks are thus formed.—In all the Wadys yesterday and to-day we found many tufts of the strong-scented herb 'Abeithirân, apparently the *Santolina fragrantissima* of Forskal,[2] somewhat resembling wormwood both in appearance and smell. The camels cropped it with avidity.

We were now approaching Jebel 'Aweibid, and began to ascend the gentle slope which extends from it towards the W. and S. W. Here on the left are many small heaps of stones and marks of graves, which we reached at 2h 10′. They are called Rejûm esh-

1) M. Le Père of the French Expedition says these wells were begun in A. D. 1676. Descr. de l'Egypte, Et. Mod. T. I. p. 33.

2) Flora Egyptiaco-Arabica, p. 147. Compare the same work, p. LXXIV.

Shawâghirîyeh, and mark the spot where a robbery was committed not many years ago on a caravan of Arabs of that name, who were carrying coffee from Suez to Cairo. Most of them were murdered. The Shawâghirîyeh are a tribe of Bedawîn who have taken up their abode at Kâid Beg, and own quite a number of camels. This affair is not improbably the same referred to by Burckhardt as having happened in 1815.[1] At 3^h 20′ we came to the junction of the southern or Besâtîn route. Near the same point is the water-shed between the Nile and the Gulf of Suez. The road here passes along a broad valley between Jebel 'Aweibid on the north, and the western ridges of Jebel 'Atâkah on the south. We encamped five minutes after four o'clock in Wady Seil Abu Zeid, which runs towards the Red Sea. Here the camels found more pasture. The day had been cold and clear, and was followed by a fine star-light evening. The North-Star stood in brightness over the E. end of 'Aweibid; from which a range of lower hills extends eastward towards 'Ajrûd.

During these two days we had seen several instances of the *Mirage*, (Arabic Serâb,) presenting all around us the appearance of lakes of water, with islands and shores distinctly marked. One instance especially to-day among the hills on our right, was so strikingly natural, that we could scarcely resist giving credit to the impression thus made upon the senses.

With our Arabs we had come to be on a very good footing. Beshârah, our chief guide, proved to be active, good-natured, and obliging; he had brilliant white teeth, and spoke with great rapidity and an animation almost like the excitement of anger. He had made the contract for all our camels; though he himself was the owner of but one. At setting off, we had besides him six men and two boys; but one or two of

1) Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, p. 462.

the former disappeared on the way. Most of them were owners each of one or two camels. One of the oldest, Ahmed, had been quite a traveller in his day; and liked much to relate his adventures and tell stories of the olden time. He was better acquainted with the country off our route than Beshârah. It was something new to them to find a Frank traveller speaking their own language fluently; and my companion took care to cultivate this favourable impression by often dismounting, and walking and talking with them. At night they always gathered around a fire made of shrubs or dry camel's dung; but slept on the ground among their camels, without any other covering than they often wore by day; the thermometer usually falling during the night on an average from 60° to 45° F. Our servants also slept in the open air; but they were provided with blankets.

Thursday, March 15th. As we were preparing to set off, a small caravan of camels passed by on their way to Cairo; and not far from our tent, we saw tracks of gazelles upon the sand. These were almost the only signs of life we had yet met with in the desert. Starting at 6^h 05′ A. M. we followed down for a time the Wady Seil Abu Zeid, and soon passed the bed of a torrent coming down from the right, in which were several stunted acacia trees, the first we had seen upon our route. The carcass of a dead horse lay by the way-side; and during the day we saw two others, said to have belonged to Mughâribeh pilgrims in the late caravan of the Haj, which had left Cairo about the 20th of January. The Wady now bends more to the N. E. under the range of low sand-hills which extends E. from Jebel 'Aweibid; while the path continues straight onwards over low hills, connected with the foot of Jebel 'Atâkah on the south. The whole region, mountains and hills, is of limestone,

and is entirely destitute of vegetation. Gradually we came in sight of another and still higher summit of Jebel 'Atâkah in the S. E., a collection of dark cliffs of limestone, naked of vegetation, and thickly strowed with pebbles of flint. Passing a small heap of stones, we found it had a name, although it did not mark a grave. Indeed the Bedawîn give a name to every object and almost every spot in the desert, at least upon their more frequented routes; in order that in travelling they may be able to designate the scene of any event, or the place where they were at a given time. At 8 o'clock we crossed Wady Emshâsh, a broad torrent-bed coming down from the right, and sweeping round eastward to join Wady Abu Zeid; after which it gives name to the whole. It then passes down on the N. side of 'Ajrûd to the sea; having in it a well of tolerable water, Bîr Emshâsh, about two miles west of the fortress.[1]

Soon afterwards we saw three Arabs sitting under a very old acacia, while their dromedaries were browsing near them. Our guides supposed them to be the Pasha's Post. Muhammed 'Aly has established at least three lines of dromedary posts, by which letters and despatches are transmitted to and from the government, as occasion may require; and of which the foreign consuls are also permitted to avail themselves. Between Cairo and Alexandria there is a regular daily line. Between Cairo and Damascus, and Cairo and Mecca, the communication is frequent, but not regular.

Our course hitherto all the way from Cairo, had been nearly due East; but we now, at $9\frac{1}{4}$ o'clock, turned E. S. E. around a small hill called el-Muntŭla'. Here the road which leaves the Nile at Abu Za'bel, comes

1) Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, etc. p. 464.

in from the left. This hill was formerly a favourite place of look-out for Arab robbers; and the top is covered with heaps of stones commemorating the robberies and murders which have been committed in the vicinity. Even so late as 1816, Burckhardt was compelled to wait three days in the fortress of 'Ajrûd, to avoid being plundered by a party of 'Amrân, who were lying in wait not far off.[1] But now the strong arm of the Pasha has swept off all such intruders, and the whole way is perfectly safe. The road here begins to descend rapidly through a rough, stony, narrow pass, also called el-Muntŭla',[2] which was formerly considered very dangerous; as is indicated by the name el-Mukhâfeh (fear) which it likewise bears. The pass gradually widens, and we had a glimpse of 'Ajrûd. We thought too that the Red Sea lay in sight before us, but it turned out to be only the *Mirage*. At the foot of the pass we met several camels and a donkey; and further on, a man riding on a donkey, with a camel for his luggage and two young gazelles in its panniers; their small heads and languishing eyes being alone visible. Not long after we met also a large caravan of Egyptian camels in single file, loaded with coffee and merchandise for Cairo. Their stout, heavy frames contrasted strongly with the thin and meager appearance of our poor animals. We now dismounted from our camels and ascended a hill on the right, from which we had a wide prospect over the plain into which the valley opens, the fortress of 'Ajrûd on the left, and Suez on the right in the S. E. with the Red Sea beyond. The atmosphere to-day seemed specially adapted

1) Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, p. 627.

2) Pococke writes "Haraminteleh," and strangely enough suggests that the ancient canal might pass this way; Descr. of the East, I. p. 131. This has given occasion to the hardly less strange suggestion of Rennell, that this is "just where we should look for *Heroum* or Heroopolis;" Geogr. Syst. of Herodot. II. p. 64.

to produce the *Mirage;* for as we looked towards Suez it seemed wholly surrounded by water; while lakes and ponds apparently stretched from the sea far up towards the north upon the desert plain. This plain, which we now overlooked, is not far from ten miles square; extending with a gentle slope from 'Ajrûd to the sea west of Suez, and from the hills at the base of 'Atâkah to the arm of the sea N. of Suez. But it retains the same general character as the desert we had passed. Hills and mountains and the long narrow strip of salt water were indeed around and before us; but not a tree, nor scarcely a shrub, and not one green thing, was to be seen in the whole circle of vision.

'Ajrûd is the next station on the Haj-route after Dâr el-Hŭmra. It is a square fortress with a well of bitter water two hundred and fifty feet deep, built for the accommodation and protection of the pilgrims on their way to and from Mecca.[1] Near by it is a mosk with a saint's tomb, also enclosed with walls. The fortress stands on the S. side of Wady Emshâsh, along which on the north a range of low hills stretches from W. to E. The Haj-route passes by the castle on the south, and continues its course directly towards the mountains which lie E. of the line of the Gulf, and constitute the ascent to the high plain of the eastern desert. Two summits were pointed out to us in this range of mountains, between which the road passes on towards 'Akabah; the northern one called Mukhsheib, and the southern er-Râhah, as belonging to the more southern chain of that name.

Before reaching 'Ajrûd our road separated from that of the Haj, turning more S. E., and we passed the

1) Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, etc. p. 628. Edrîsi mentions 'Ajrûd about the middle of the twelfth century. Rüppell singularly enough writes the name *Hadgi Routh;* Reise in Abyssinien, I. p. 135. The Arabic orthography has been fixed at least ever since the days of Edrîsi.

fortress at 11^h 40′, leaving it about twenty minutes distant on our left. From 'Ajrûd to Suez is reckoned four hours. Crossing the plain, which is everywhere intersected by water-courses, we came at 2^h 50′ to Bîr Suweis, the Well of Suez, one hour from the town. Here are two deep wells, surrounded by a square massive building of stone with towers at the corners, erected in the seventeenth century, as appears from an inscription. The water is brackish, and is carried to Suez on asses and camels only for cooking and washing, being too salt to be drank. Even where it flows upon the ground round about the building, it produces no vegetation, causing only a saline efflorescence. In Niebuhr's time the water was drawn up by hand; but is now raised by wheels turned by oxen, and runs into a large stone trough outside, where animals drink and water-skins are filled.[1] Here our camels were watered for the first time. They had been fed in Cairo with green clover; and had not drank, it was said, for twelve days before our departure. Yet they now drank little, and some of them none at all.

We reached Suez (Arabic *Suweis*) at 3^h 50′, and pitched our tent outside of the walls on the north of the town, near the shore; having first reconnoitered the interior and found no spot so clean and convenient among all its open places; to say nothing of the annoyance and risk to which we should have been exposed from idlers.—From the gate of Cairo to Suez we reckoned $32\frac{1}{4}$ hours of march, equivalent to $64\frac{1}{2}$ geogr. miles, or somewhat less than 75 statute miles.[2] Our whole time, including the stops at night, was $71\frac{1}{3}$

1) Reisebeschr. I. p. 217. These would seem to be the wells mentioned by Edrîsi in the twelfth century under the name el-'Ajûz, between 'Ajrûd and Kolzum; p. 329, ed. Jaubert.

2) See Note VII, at the end of the volume.

hours, or nearly three whole days. The India mails had just before been carried across in twenty-two hours; and the Pasha is said to have once crossed on horseback in thirteen hours, by having relays of horses stationed on the way.[1]

We paid our respects to the English Vice-Consul, Mr. Fitch, to whom we had letters; and of whose kindness we retain a grateful remembrance.[2] He had been only five weeks in the place; and his chief business was the agency for the Bombay steamers, which were to arrive and depart every month. At his invitation we attended his *Soirée;* where however we met only three other persons, and these in his employ. They were three brothers Manueli, natives of the place and members of the Greek church. One of them, Nicola, had been for many years English Agent at Suez, until recently superseded by the Vice-Consul; under whom he now acted as dragoman and fac-totum. We found him to be a very intelligent and well-informed man; and obtained from him satisfactory information on many points of inquiry connected with this region. At the suggestion of the Vice-Consul, he procured for us a letter from the Governor of Suez to the Governor of 'Akabah; which however we found to be of little importance.[3]

Suez is situated on the angle of land between the broad head of the Gulf, the shore of which here runs nearly from E. to W., and the narrow arm which runs up northward from the eastern corner of the Gulf. It is poorly walled on three sides; being open to the

1) In 1839 three stations were established on the road between Cairo and Suez, for keeping relays of animals, and to serve also as inns for travellers passing between Europe and India. See Kinnear's Cairo, etc. p. 61.

2) This gentleman died a year afterwards at Alexandria.

3) An English hotel has since been established at Suez for the benefit of passengers in the steam-vessels.

water on the E., or rather N. E., where is the harbour and a good quay. Here were lying quite a number of the Red Sea craft, vessels of considerable size, with neat white bottoms, but with only one mast and sail, and no deck except over the cabin. The timber and materials for all vessels built here, have usually been brought from the Nile on camels.[1] Within the walls are many open places, and several Khâns built around large courts. In the large open space connected with the building occupied by the Consulate, a beautiful tame gazelle was running about, belonging to the Governor, whose house was adjacent to the same court. The houses in general are poorly built. There is a bazar, or street of shops, which we found tolerably furnished with provisions and stuffs, mostly from Cairo. The inhabitants consist of about twelve hundred Muhammedans and one hundred and fifty Christians of the Greek church. The geographical position of Suez is in Lat. 29° 57′ 30″ N. and Long. 30° 11′ 09″ E. from Paris, or 32° 31′ 33″ E. from Greenwich.[2]

The transit of the productions and merchandise of the East from the Red Sea to the Nile, has always made this an important point, and caused the existence of a city in the vicinity; though Suez itself, as a town, is of modern origin,[3] and has been greatly aided by the concourse of pilgrims who annually embark here for Mecca. The present arrangements for making it the point of communication between Europe and India by means of steam-navigation on the Red Sea, may probably give to it an impulse, and somewhat enlarge its population; but it can never well become any thing more than a mere place of passage,

1) Niebuhr Reisebeschr. I. p. 218. Compare Wilken's Gesch. der Kreuzzüge, III. ii. p. 223.

2) So Berghaus, as a mean deduced from several observations, both for the latitude and longitude. See his Memoir zu seiner Karte von Syrien, pp. 28, 29.

3) See Note VIII, at the end of the volume.

which both the traveller and the inhabitant will hasten to leave as soon as possible. The aspect both within and without is too desolate and dreary. Not a garden, not a tree, not a trace of verdure, not a drop of fresh water; all the water with which Suez is supplied for personal use, being brought from the fountain Nâba', three hours distant across the Gulf, and so brackish as to be scarcely drinkable.

About ten minutes or one third of a mile north of the town, is a lofty mound of rubbish, in which a few substructions are visible, and frequent fragments of pottery. It is called Tell Kolzum. This is doubtless the site of the former city Kolzum, so often mentioned by Arabian writers as the port where fleets were built on the Red Sea. It was the successor of the Greek Klysma; Kolzum being merely the Arabic form of the same name.[1] The earlier city of Arsinoë or Cleopatris is supposed to have stood somewhere in the vicinity; and may perhaps have occupied the same spot.[2]

The Gulf of Suez, as seen from the adjacent hills, presents the appearance of a long strip of water, setting far up like a large river through a desert valley of twenty or thirty miles in width; the shores skirted sometimes by arid plains, and sometimes interrupted by naked mountains and promontories on either side. The whole configuration reminded me strongly of the valley of the Nile on a larger scale;

1) Klysma (*Κλύσμα*) is mentioned in this place by Cosmas Indicopleustes so late as about A. D. 530. See Montfaucon's Collectio nova Patrum, T. II. p. 194. In the Council of Constantinople, A. D. 553, the name of Stephanus, bishop of Clysma, appears among the signers; Harduin Acta Concilior. III. p. 52. For Kolzum see Edrîsi Geogr. I. p. 331, 333, ed. Jaubert. Abulfeda in Büsching's Magazin, IV. p. 196. Compare also Bochart's Phaleg, II. c. 18.

2) The following bearings were taken from Tell Kolzum: Jebel Mukhsheib N. 65° E. Tâset Sŭdr S. 41° E. Jebel 'Atâkah, north peak, N. 72° W. Extreme point of Râs 'Atâkah, S. 26° W. End of the shoal running out from the eastern shore, S. 1° W.

except that there the noble river bears fertility on its bosom, and scatters it abroad in lavish profusion; while here desolation reigns throughout. The Gulf becomes narrower towards Suez, and terminates in a line of coast extending from the town westward nearly to Jebel 'Atâkah, a distance of six or eight miles. Further south, this mountain runs quite down to the sea, forming the promontory called Râs 'Atâkah; beyond which opens the broad mouth or plain of Wady Tawârik; and then follows Jebel Deraj or Kulâlah, and the long chain of African mountains. On the east side of the Gulf, the parallel ridge of mountains, called er-Râhah, is here twelve or fifteen miles distant from the coast. Around the head of the Gulf, extensive shoals stretch out southward far into the sea, and are left bare at low water; except a narrow winding channel like a small river, by which light vessels come quite up to the town. We saw these shoals twice while the tide was out. They extend a mile and a half or two miles below Suez; are quite level and hard, thinly covered with sea-weed; and are composed apparently of sand mingled perhaps with coral. We saw persons walking upon them quite near the southern extremity. Larger vessels and the steamers lie off in the road below these shoals, more than two miles distant from the town.

The desert plain back of Suez, which has been mentioned above as extending west as far as to 'Atâkah and north to 'Ajrûd, is composed for the most part of hard gravel; and is apparently of no recent formation, but as old as the adjacent hills and mountains. Just at Suez a narrow arm runs up northwards for a considerable distance from the N. E. corner of the Gulf; in which, when we saw it, the water extended up about two miles; but the depression or bed of it continues beyond the mounds of the ancient

canal, and as far as the eye can reach. Opposite Suez this arm is about eleven hundred and fifty yards wide according to Niebuhr;[1] but higher up and opposite Tell Kolzum, it is broader, and has several low islands or sand-banks, which are mostly covered at high water. It is here and around the northern part of this arm, that there are evident traces of a gradual filling up of this part of the Red Sea. I am not aware of any circumstances which go to show that the *level of the sea* itself has been changed; but the change, if any, has been brought about solely by the drifting in of sand from the northern part of the great desert plain, which here extends to the eastern mountains. This plain is ten miles or more wide. Burckhardt crossed it in 1812 in six hours from the wells of Mab'ûk at the foot of the mountains to the mounds of the canal; and says it was full of "moving sands which covered the plain as far as he could discern, and in some places had collected into hills thirty or forty feet in height."[2] Such it was as we also saw it on our left in passing around the head of the bay; and this sand, driven by the strong N. E. wind which often prevails, is continually carried towards and into the water, and the process of filling up is still going on. There can be little room for doubt, that the islands above Suez were formed in this manner; since in former days vessels probably lay at Kolzum, which they now cannot reach. Around the head of the inlet, there are also obvious indications, that the water once extended much further north, and probably spread itself out over a wide tract towards the northeast. The ground bears every mark of being still occasionally overflowed; and our Arabs said it was often covered by the sea, especially in winter, when the

1) Reisebeschr. I. p. 253. 2) Travels in Syria, etc. p. 454.

south winds prevail. The soil of this part is a fine sand like that of the adjacent desert, only rendered more solid by the action of the waves. In some parts it was covered with a saline crust, and occasionally exhibited strips white with shells. Whether the shoals south of Suez were formed in the same manner, it is more difficult to decide; though they would seem now to have a firmer consistence.

We were told that the tide rises at Suez and upon these shoals about *seven* English feet. According to the French measurements, the average rise of the tides in their time was $5\frac{1}{2}$ Paris feet, though it sometimes exceeded 6 feet. Niebuhr found it to be only $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet.[1] It must obviously vary much with the direction of the wind; since a strong wind from the northern quarter would have the effect to drive the tide out and prevent its return; while a south wind would produce the contrary results. Opposite Suez there is a ferry; and higher up, at Tell Kolzum, a ford, which is sometimes used at low water, leading over two of the sandy islands. Niebuhr's guides passed this ford on foot, and the water came scarcely up to their knees.[2] An island just below the ford is called Jezîrat el-Yehûdîyeh, "Jews' Island;" but, although we inquired particularly, we could not learn that the ford itself is called Derb el-Yehûd or Jews' Road, as reported by Ehrenberg.[3] There is also another ford south of Suez, near the edge of the shoals, where a long narrow sand-bank extends out from the eastern shore. Here at low tides the Arabs sometimes wade across the channel; the water being then about five feet deep, or, as they said, coming up to the chin.

The road which we travelled from Cairo to Suez

1) Le Père in Descr. de l'Egypte, Et. Mod. I. p. 90. Niebuhr Beschr. von Arab. p. 421, seq.

2) Reisebeschr. I. p. 252.

3) See his Map in Naturgesch. Reisen, Abth. I. Berlin, 1828.

is the shortest and most direct of all those between the two points; and like all the rest (except the southern one) is wholly destitute of water as far as to 'Ajrûd. On the Besâtîn route west of Jebel Gharbûn are the shallow pits of Gandali (or Gandelhy), in which a small quantity of tolerable water collects. On the more southern and longer branch of this route, through Wady Tawârik, is the well of 'Ödheib (sweet water) near the shore south of Râs 'Atâkah, about eight hours from Suez. Here is also a small mound of rubbish with fragments of pottery, indicating a former site.[1] But the shortest route of all between Suez and the borders of the Nile, lies to the northward of all these roads, and passes nearer to the valley of the ancient canal. Caravans proceeding from Suez in this direction, stop the first night at Rejûm el-Khail, a mere station in the desert without water; and the next day reach Râs el-Wâdy, a considerable village on the border of Wady Tûmilât, some distance N. E. of Belbeis. This Wady is the western part of the broad valley of the canal, which more to the eastward is called Wady Seba' Biyâr (Seven Wells). The water of the Nile flows up into it during the annual inundation, sometimes as far as to the salt lakes called Temsah (Crocodile Lakes), as marked on the maps; which lakes indeed are said on the great French map to have water only at these periods. This inundation of course renders the valley a tract of fertile land, on which are scattered many villages and traces of ancient sites. By taking a direction more to the right from Rejûm el-Khail, a day's journey brings the

1) Le Père in Descript. de l'Eygpte, Et. Mod. I. p. 46. This route serves also as a medium of communication between Suez and Upper Egypt; a branch of it passing directly from Wady Tawârik through a side valley to the Nile near Tebbîn, some distance above Cairo.—For other names of this valley, see Note IX, at the end of the volume.

traveller to the well of Abu Suweirah, situated in the northern part of the same great Wady, a little N. W. of the Crocodile Lakes.[1] A more direct course from Suez to the latter place, is prevented by salt marshes, into which the camels sink and slip. Our Arabs, who had themselves been this route and gave us this information, said these marshes were made by a canal cut thus far from the Red Sea and then neglected; though now a hill (as they said) separates them from the sea. These are doubtless the well-known marshes or Bitter Lakes of the ancients, which the French found to be from forty to fifty feet (12 to 15 metres) below the usual level of the Gulf of Suez; while the broad tract of sand which now separates them from the Gulf is only about three feet above the same level. A higher bank or swell of ground at their western extremity, separates them in like manner from the Crocodile Lakes, and forms the utmost limit of the inundations of the Nile.[2]

The bearing of the preceding details upon one of the most remarkable events of Biblical History, will be obvious; I mean the Exodus of the Israelites and their passage through the Red Sea. I propose to bring together in this place all I have to say on this subject; premising such information as we were able to obtain relative to the Land of Goshen, and the probable route of the Israelites on leaving Egypt.

We were quite satisfied from our own observation, that they could not have passed to the Red Sea

1) See Note X.

2) Rozière in Descr. de l'Egypte, Antiq. Mem. I. p. 137. Le Père and Du Bois-Aymé, ib. Et. Mod. I. p. 21, seq. 187, seq. Comp. Ritter's Erdkunde, Th. II. 1818, p. 232, seq. A valuable abstract of the results contained in the great French work, is given by Mr. Maclarin in the Edinburgh Philosophical Journal, 1825, Vol. XIII. p. 274. See further in Note XI, end of the volume.

from any point near Heliopolis or Cairo in three days, the longest interval which the language of the narrative allows. Both the distance and the want of water on all the routes, are fatal to such an hypothesis. We read, that there were six hundred thousand men of the Israelites above twenty years of age, who left Egypt on foot.[1] There must of course have been as many women above twenty years old; and at least an equal number both of males and females under the same age; besides the "mixed multitude" spoken of, and very much cattle. The whole number therefore probably amounted to two and a half millions, and certainly to not less than two millions. Now the usual day's march of the best appointed armies, both in ancient and modern times, is not estimated higher than fourteen English, or twelve geographical miles;[2] and it cannot be supposed that the Israelites, encumbered with women and children and flocks, would be able to accomplish more. But the distance on all these routes being not less than sixty geographical miles, they could not well have travelled it in any case in less than five days.

The difficulty as to water might indeed have been obviated, so far as the Israelites were concerned, by taking with them a supply from the Nile, like the caravans of modern days. But Pharaoh appears to have followed them upon the same track with all his horses and chariots and horsemen; and this could not have taken place upon any of the routes between Cairo and the Red Sea. Horses are indeed often taken across at the present day; but then a supply

1) Ex. xii. 37, 38. Compare Num. i. 2, 3, 45, 46, where a year later the number is given at 603,550.

2) Rennell's Compar. Geogr. of Western Asia, I. p. liv. I am informed by Prussian officers of rank, that the usual march of their armies is three German miles a day, equal to twelve geographical miles of sixty to the degree. Forced marches are reckoned at five German miles a day. In either case the whole army rests every fourth day.

of water must be provided for them, usually about two water-skins for each horse. Six of these water-skins are a load for a camel; so that for every three horses, there must be a camel-load of water. Still they not unfrequently die; and we saw the carcasses of several which had perished during the recent passage of the Haj. Flocks of sheep and goats might pass across; but for neat cattle this would be impossible, without a like supply of water.

LAND OF GOSHEN.

The preceding considerations go far to support the usual view of scholars at the present day, that the Land of Goshen lay along the Pelusiac arm of the Nile, on the east of the Delta, and was the part of Egypt nearest to Palestine.[1] This tract is now comprehended in the modern province esh-Shŭrkîyeh, which extends from the neighbourhood of Abu Za'bel to the sea, and from the desert to the former Tanaitic branch of the Nile; thus including also the valley of the ancient canal. If the Pelusiac arm, as is commonly assumed, were navigable for fleets in ancient times, the Israelites were probably confined to its eastern bank; but if we are at liberty to suppose, that this stream was never much larger than at present, then they may have spread themselves out upon the Delta beyond it, until restrained by larger branches of the Nile.[2] That the Land of Goshen lay upon the waters of the Nile, is apparent from the circumstance, that the Israelites practised irrigation; that it was a land of seed, figs, vines, and pomegranates; that the people ate of fish freely; while the

1) The usual arguments from Scripture and the early writers, on which this opinion rests, may be found in Rosenmueller's Bibl. Geogr. III. p. 246, seq. Gesenius' Thesaur. Ling. Heb. p. 307. Amer. Bibl. Repos. Oct. 1832. p. 744. A view of the various earlier theories respecting the position of Goshen, is given in Bellermann's Handb. der bibl. Literatur, IV. p. 191, seq. Gesenius, l. c.

2) See Note XII, end of the volume.

enumeration of the articles for which they longed in the desert, corresponds remarkably with the list given by Mr. Lane as the food of the modern Fellâhs.[1] All this goes to show, that the Israelites, when in Egypt, lived much as the Egyptians do now; and that Goshen probably extended further west and more into the Delta than has usually been supposed. They would seem to have lived interspersed among the Egyptians of that district, perhaps in separate villages, much as the Copts of the present day are mingled with the Muhammedans. This appears from the circumstance of their borrowing "jewels of gold and silver" from their Egyptian neighbours; and also from the fact, that their houses were to be marked with blood, in order that they might be distinguished and spared in the last dread plague of the Egyptians.[2]

The immediate descendants of Jacob were doubtless nomadic shepherds like their forefathers, dwelling in tents; and probably drove their flocks for pasture far up in the Wadys of the desert, like the present inhabitants of the same region.[3] But in process of time they became also tillers of the soil, and exchanged their tents for more fixed habitations. Even now there is a colony of the Tawarah Arabs, about fifty families, living near Abu Za'bel, who cultivate the soil and yet dwell in tents. They came thither from Mount Sinai about four years before the French invasion. This drove them back for a time to the mountains of the Terâbîn, E. of Suez; but they had acquired such a taste for the good things of Egypt, that like the Isra-

1) Deut. xi. 10. Num. xx. 5. Num. xi. 5, "We remember the fish we did eat in Egypt freely; the cucumbers, and the melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlic."—Manners and Customs of the Mod. Egyptians, I. p. 242, "Their food consists of bread made of millet or of maize, milk, new cheese, eggs, small salted fish, cucumbers, and melons, and gourds of a great variety of kinds, onions, and leeks, beans, chick-peas, lupins," etc. etc.

2) Ex. xi. 2. xii. 12, 13, 22, 23, etc.

3) See above, p. 59.

elites they could not live in the desert, and soon returned after the French were gone. "Now," said our Arabs, "though we acknowledge them as cousins, they have no right to dwell among us; nor could they live in our barren mountains after enjoying so long the luxuries of Egypt."

The Land of Goshen was "the best of the land;"[1] and such too the province esh-Shŭrkîyeh has ever been, down to the present time. In the remarkable Arabic document translated by De Sacy,[2] containing a valuation of all the provinces and villages of Egypt in the year 1376, the province of the Shŭrkîyeh comprises 383 towns and villages, and is valued at 1,411,875 *Dinars*—a larger sum than is put upon any other province, with one exception. During my stay in Cairo, I made many inquiries respecting this district; to which the uniform reply was, that it was considered as the best province in Egypt. Wishing to obtain more definite information, I ventured to request of Lord Prudhoe, with whom the Pasha was understood to be on a very friendly footing, to obtain for me, if possible, a statement of the valuation of the provinces of Egypt. This, as he afterwards informed me, could not well be done; but he had ascertained that the province of the Shŭrkîyeh bears the highest valuation and yields the largest revenue. He had himself just returned from an excursion to the lower parts of this province, and confirmed from his own observation the reports of its fertility. This arises from the fact that it is intersected by canals, while the surface of the land is less elevated above the level of the Nile, than in other parts of Egypt; so that it is more easily irrigated. There are here more flocks and herds than anywhere else in Egypt; and also more fishermen.

1) Gen. xlvii. 6, "in the best of the land,—in the land of Goshen."

2) Abdallatif's Relation de l'Egypte; par De Sacy, p. 583.

The population is half migratory, composed partly of Fellâhs, and partly of Arabs from the adjacent deserts and even from Syria; who retain in part their nomadic habits, and frequently remove from one village to another. Yet there are very many villages wholly deserted, where many thousands of people might at once find a habitation. Even now another million at least might be sustained in the district; and the soil is capable of higher tillage to an indefinite extent. So too the adjacent desert, so far as water could be applied for irrigation, might be rendered fertile; for wherever water is, there is fertility.

ROUTE OF THE ISRAELITES TO THE RED SEA.

From the Land of Goshen as thus defined to the Red Sea, the direct and only route was along the valley of the ancient canal. The Israelites broke up from their rendezvous at Rameses "on the fifteenth day of the first month, on the morrow after the passover;"[1] and proceeded by Succoth and Etham to the sea. Without stopping to inquire as to the identity of Rameses with Heroopolis, or the position of the latter place, it is enough for our purpose, that the former town (as is generally admitted) lay probably on the valley of the canal in the middle part, not far from the western extremity of the basin of the Bitter Lakes. Nor is it necessary to discuss the point, whether this basin anciently formed a prolongation of the Gulf of the Red Sea, as is supposed by some; or, as is more probable, was covered with brackish water, separated from the Red Sea, as now, by a tract of higher ground. Nothing more is needed for our present purpose, even admitting that a communication existed from this basin to the sea, than to suppose that the inlet, if any, was

1) Ex. xii. 37. Num. xxxiii. 3.

already so small, as to present no important obstacle to the advance of the Israelites.[1]

From Rameses to the head of the Gulf, according to the preceding data, would be a distance of some thirty or thirty-five miles; which might easily have been passed over by the Israelites in three days. A large portion of the people were apparently already collected at Rameses, waiting for permission to depart, when the last great plague took place. From the time when Pharaoh dismissed Moses and Aaron in the night of the fourteenth day of the month (according to the Jewish reckoning), until the morning of the fifteenth day, when the people set off, there was an interval of some thirty hours, during which these leaders could easily reach Rameses from the court of Pharaoh, whether this were at Memphis, or, as is more probable, at Zoan or Tanis.[2]

The first day's march brought them to Succoth, a name signifying "booths," which might be applied to any temporary station or encampment. Whether there was water here is not mentioned; and the position of the place cannot be determined. On the second day they reached Etham "in the edge of the wilderness."[3] What wilderness? The Israelites after passing the Red Sea are said in Exodus to have gone three days' march into the desert of Shur; but in Numbers, the same tract is called the desert of Etham.[4] It hence follows, that Etham probably lay on the edge of this eastern desert, perhaps not far from the present head of the Gulf, and on the eastern side of the line of the Gulf or canal. May it not have stood upon or near the strip of land between the Gulf and the basin of the Bitter Lakes?[5] At any rate, it would seem to have

1) See Note XIII.

2) The Psalmist places the scene of the miracles of Moses in the region of Zoan. Ps. lxxviii. 12, 43.

3) Ex. xiii. 20. Num. xxxiii. 6.

4) Ex. xv. 22. Num. xxxiii. 8.

5) This view would be supported by the Egyptian etymology which Jablonsky assigns to the

been the point from which the direct course of the Israelites to Sinai would have led them around the present head of the Gulf and along its eastern side. From Etham they "turned" more to the right; and instead of passing along the eastern side, they marched down the western side of the arm of the Gulf, to the vicinity of Suez. This movement, apparently so directly out of their course, might well give Pharaoh occasion to say, "they are entangled in the land, the wilderness hath shut them in;" and lead him to pursue them with his horsemen and chariots, in the hope of speedily overtaking and forcing them to return.[1]

The position of Migdol, Pi-haheroth, and Baal-Zephon, cannot of course be determined; except that they probably were on or near the great plain back of Suez. If the wells of 'Ajrûd and Bîr Suweis were then in existence, they would naturally mark the sites of towns; but there is no direct evidence either for or against such an hypothesis. That this point, so important for the navigation of the Red Sea, was already occupied by a town, perhaps Baal-Zephon, is not improbable. A few centuries later several cities lay in the vicinity; and these must have had wells, or there were more fountains than at present. In this plain, the Israelites would have abundant space for their encampment.

PASSAGE OF THE RED SEA.

The question here has respect to the part of the sea where the passage took place. This many writers and travellers have assumed to be the point at the mouth of Wady Tawârik, south of Râs 'Atâkah; principally perhaps because it was supposed that the Israelites passed down that valley. But according to

name Etham, viz. *ATIOM*, "Border of the Sea."

1) Ex. xiv. 2, 3, seq.

the preceding views, this could not well have taken place; and therefore, if they crossed at that point, they must first have passed down around Râs 'Atâkah and encamped in the plain at the mouth of the valley.

The discussion of this question has often been embarrassed, by not sufficiently attending to the circumstances narrated by the sacred historian; which are, in the main points, the following. The Israelites, hemmed in on all sides,—on their left and in front the sea, on their right Jebel 'Atâkah, and behind them the Egyptians,—began to despair of escape, and to murmur against Moses. The Lord now directed Moses to stretch out his rod over the sea; and the Lord caused the sea to flow (Heb. *go*) by a strong east wind all that night, and made the sea dry; and the waters were divided. And the children of Israel went into the midst of the sea upon the dry (ground); and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand and on their left. The Egyptians pursued and went in after them; and in the morning watch, the Lord troubled the host of the Egyptians. And Moses stretched out his hand over the sea, and the sea returned to his strength when the morning appeared, and the Egyptians fled against it; and the waters returned and covered all the host of Pharaoh.[1]

In this narration there are two main points, on which the whole question may be said to turn. The first is, *the means* or instrument with which the miracle was wrought. The Lord, it is said, caused the sea to go (or flow out) *by a strong east wind.* The miracle therefore is represented as mediate; not a direct suspension of, or interference with the laws of nature, but a miraculous adaptation of those laws to produce a required result. It was wrought by natural means

1) Ex. xiv. 11, 12, 21—28.

supernaturally applied. For this reason we are here entitled to look only for the natural effects arising from the operation of such a cause. In the somewhat indefinite phraseology of the Hebrew, an east wind means any wind from the eastern quarter; and would include the N. E. wind, which often prevails in this region. Now it will be obvious from the inspection of any good map of the Gulf,[1] that a strong N. E. wind acting here upon the ebb tide, would necessarily have the effect to drive out the waters from the small arm of the sea which runs up by Suez, and also from the end of the Gulf itself, leaving the shallower portions dry; while the more northern part of the arm, which was anciently broader and deeper than at present, would still remain covered with water. Thus the waters would be divided, and be a wall (or defence) to the Israelites on the right hand and on the left. Nor will it be less obvious from a similar inspection, that in no other part of the whole Gulf, would a N. E. wind act in the same manner to drive out the waters. On this ground, then, the hypothesis of a passage through the sea opposite to Wady Ṭawârik, would be untenable.

The second main point has respect to the interval of *time* during which the passage was effected. It was night; for the Lord caused the sea to go (out) "all night;" and when the morning appeared, it had already returned in its strength; for the Egyptians were overwhelmed in the morning watch. If then, as is most probable, the wind thus miraculously sent, acted upon the ebb tide to drive out the waters during the night to a far greater extent than usual, we still cannot assume that this extraordinary ebb, thus brought about by natural means, would continue

1) Especially Niebuhr's Tab. XXIV, in his Beschr. von Arabien.

more than three or four hours at the most. The Israelites were probably on the alert, and entered upon the passage as soon as the way was practicable; but as the wind must have acted for some time before the required effect would be produced, we cannot well assume that they set off before the middle watch, or towards midnight. Before the morning watch or two o'clock, they had probably completed the passage; for the Egyptians had entered after them, and were destroyed before the morning appeared. As the Israelites numbered more than two millions of persons, besides flocks and herds, they would of course be able to pass but slowly. If the part left dry were broad enough to enable them to cross in a body one thousand abreast, which would require a space of more than half a mile in breadth, (and is perhaps the largest supposition admissible,) still the column would be more than two thousand persons in depth; and in all probability could not have extended less than two miles. It would then have occupied at least an hour in passing over its own length, or in entering the sea; and deducting this from the largest time intervening before the Egyptians must also have entered the sea, there will remain only time enough, under the circumstances, for the body of the Israelites to have passed at the most over a space of three or four miles. This circumstance is fatal to the hypothesis of their having crossed from Wady Tawârik; since the breadth of the sea at that point, according to Niebuhr's measurement, is three German or twelve geogr. miles, equal to a whole day's journey.[1]

All the preceding considerations tend conclusively to limit the place of passage to the neighbourhood of Suez. The part left dry might have been within

1) Niebuhr's Reisebeschr. I. p. 251.

the arm which sets up from the Gulf, which is now two thirds of a mile wide in its narrowest part, and was probably once wider; or it might have been to the southward of this arm, where the broad shoals are still left bare at the ebb, and the channel is sometimes forded. If similar shoals might be supposed to have anciently existed in this part, the latter supposition would be the most probable. The Israelites would then naturally have crossed from the shore west of Suez in an oblique direction, a distance of three or four miles from shore to shore. In this case there is room for all the conditions of the miracle to be amply satisfied.

To the former supposition, that the passage took place through the arm of the Gulf above Suez, it is sometimes objected, that there could not be in that part space and depth enough of water, to cause the destruction of the Egyptians in the manner related. It must however be remembered, that this arm was anciently both wider and deeper; and also, that the sea in its reflux would not only return with the usual power of the flood tide, but with a far greater force and depth, in consequence of having been thus extraordinarily driven out by a N. E. wind. It would seem moreover to be implied in the triumphal song of Moses on this occasion, that on the return of the sea, the wind was also changed, and acted to drive in the flood upon the Egyptians.[1] Even now caravans never cross the ford above Suez; and it is considered dangerous, except at quite low water.[2]

1) Ex. xv. 10; comp. verse 8.

2) In 1799, Gen. Bonaparte in returning from 'Ayûn Mûsa attempted the ford. It was already late and grew dark; the tide rose, and flowed with greater rapidity than had been expected; so that the General and his suite were exposed to the greatest danger, although they had guides well acquainted with the ground. See Note of Du Bois-Aymé, Descr. de l'Egypte, Antiq. Mem. I. p. 127, seq.

Our own observation on the spot, led both my companion and myself to incline to the other supposition, that the passage took place across shoals adjacent to Suez on the south and southwest. But among the many changes which have occurred here in the lapse of ages, it is of course impossible to decide with certainty as to the precise spot; nor is this necessary. Either of the above suppositions satisfies the conditions of the case; on either the deliverance of the Israelites was equally great, and the arm of Jehovah alike gloriously revealed.

SECTION III.

FROM SUEZ TO MOUNT SINAI.

Friday, March 16th, 1838.—Having seen all that Suez offers to the notice of the traveller, we were glad to leave it again this day. We took the longer route around the head of the arm or inlet, in order to examine the make of the land; though most persons send only their camels round, and themselves cross at the ferry. Setting off at 1 o'clock P. M. we passed to the left of Tell Kolzum, and taking a course N.$\frac{1}{2}$E. reached at 2^h $35'$ the mounds of the ancient canal. The ground all the way is a hard gravelly plain, slightly elevated above the water, and sloping gently towards it. The banks of the ancient canal are very distinct, here five or six feet high, and running parallel to each other thirty or forty yards apart, as far as the eye can reach in a northerly direction.[1] The route of the Haj crosses them at a point still further north. We now turned E. S. E. descending to the lower level or bed of the inlet, where the ground soon began to bear every mark of being occasionally overflowed; the flood tide evidently at some seasons extending far up to the northward. The bottom was fine sand, like the drift-sand of the desert, hardened by the action of the water, and covered in some places with a saline efflorescence. Here we silently glided out of Africa into Asia, with-

1) See in Note XI.

out knowing the precise line of division. At 3 o'clock, Suez bearing S. 25° W. we again changed our course to S. by E. which we kept for the rest of the day.

In half an hour more we came to low hills of sand and gravel, connected with the desert on our left. Among these hills tracts of low land of the character just described run up to the N. E. and E. for a great distance; showing that the upper part of this arm once spread itself out into a large bay, in which these hills were islands, if they then existed. One such apparent inlet towards the N. E. was very large and distinctly marked. We were nowhere able to see the water on our right; and could not determine how far up it extended at the time; partly from the lowness of the ground, and partly on account of the *Mirage*, which gave to the whole tract in that direction the appearance of a lake. At 3^h 55′ we left the low lands entirely, and came again upon a gravelly plain; from which, half an hour after, the town bore due west, about an hour distant. At ten minutes past 5 o'clock we encamped upon this desert plain, Suez bearing from us N. N. W.

The nature of the tract we had thus passed over, strongly indicates that the arm of the Gulf which now runs up north of Suez, was anciently not much wider at its entrance than at present; while further north it spread itself out into a broader and deeper bay. Parallel to the Gulf on the east runs the long range of mountains called er-Râhah, which seem to be little more than an ascent to the high plateau of the interior desert. They are some four or five hours distant from the shore of the Gulf; and the tract between is here a gravelly desert plain, sometimes interrupted by low ridges and hills, running in various directions.

The place where we encamped was about an hour and a half distant from Suez; and probably it was in

this vicinity that the children of Israel came out upon the eastern shore. Here, at our evening devotions, and near the spot where it was composed and first sung, we read, and felt in its full force, the magnificent triumphal song of Moses: "The Lord hath triumphed gloriously; the horse and his rider he hath thrown into the sea." We then laid us down in peace and slept; for the Lord caused us also to dwell here in safety.

Saturday, March 17th. At 6h 20′ we were again upon our camels, refreshed and invigorated by the balmy air of the morning. The weather of yesterday had been fine; and it continued so through this and many succeeding days. Our course all day varied between S. by E. and S. S. E. nearly parallel to the coast, but for the most part at some distance from it. At 7 o'clock we crossed the track leading from the ferry of Suez to the fountain Nâba', or, as it was called by our Arabs, el-Ghŭrkŭdeh, from which that town is supplied with water for drinking. From this point the fountain was apparently three miles distant. Some of our Arabs went with a camel for water; while we kept on our way, sending one of our servants with them to see that the skins were well rinsed. According to his report, the fountain is a mere excavation in the plain at the foot of a range of sand-hillocks, a basin eight or ten feet in diameter and six or eight feet deep, with stone steps to go down into it. In this basin the water, which is quite brackish, boils up continually and stands two or three feet deep, without any outlet; furnishing enough to supply two hundred camel-loads at once. About twenty camels were then there, taking loads of water for Suez.

Half an hour afterwards a very gradual ascent lay before us, which terminated at 8 o'clock in a steep descent. From the brow of the latter we had a wide

view of the sea and of the low plain before us, in which a few stunted palm-trees marked the situation of 'Ayûn Mûsa, the fountains of Moses. On the west of the sea, the barren peaks of 'Atâkah and Deraj rose lofty and dark; and between them was spread out the broad plain of Wady Tawârik. On our left, further to the south, a single peak in the range of er-Râhah formed a sort of land-mark, which we had already seen from Suez; it is called Tâset Sŭdr, lying at the head of the Wady of that name. We reached 'Ayûn Mûsa half an hour afterwards. Here I counted seven fountains, several of them mere recent excavations in the sand, in which a little brackish water was standing. Others are older and more abundant; but the water is dark-coloured and brackish, and deposits a hard substance as it rises; so that mounds have been formed around these larger springs, on the top of which the water flows out and runs down for a few yards, till it is lost in the sand. We did not remark that the water was warm, as reported by Monconys and others. The Arabs call the northernmost spring sweet; but we could not perceive that it differed much from the others. One of them has a small rude drain laid with stones, a few paces long, which the French have dignified with the name of a Venetian aqueduct.[1] About twenty stunted untrimmed palm-trees, or rather palm-bushes, grow round about in the arid sand. A patch of barley, a few rods square, was irrigated from one or two of the more southern fountains. The barley was now in the ear; and we counted six men busy in frightening away the little birds called *Semmâneh;*

1) See Monge in Descr. de l'Egypte, Et. Mod. I. p. 409, seq. Laborde's Map.—M. Monge speaks of this aqueduct as extending down to the sea so as to form a watering-place for ships. We were not at the time aware of this hypothesis, and did not therefore examine the coast. But there is nothing around the springs which indicates it. See also Marmont's Voyage, Tom. IV. p. 153, Brux. 1837.

thus showing the value attached to the only spot of cultivation in the vicinity of Suez, to which place they belonged. There were also a few cabbage-plants. Near the fountains is a low mound of rubbish with fragments of tiles and pottery, and some foundations visible on the top, apparently marking the site of a former village.[1] Râs 'Atâkah bore from here S. 70° W.

Immediately south of these fountains, the path rises over sand-hills. At 9h 35′ we crossed Wady er-Reiyâneh running towards the sea; as do all the following Wadys. An hour further on, a path branched off to the left, towards the mountain at the head of Wady Sŭdr, where the Arabs Terâbîn have their chief encampment. We came to Wady Kŭrdhîyeh at 11h 35′; not a plain as Burckhardt says;[2] for the Bedawîn usually give names only to the Wadys, and not to the plains between. The road continues over a gravelly tract of several hours in extent. At 12¼ o'clock a path went off more to the right, which leads along the shore to the fountain Abu Suweirah near the mouth of Wady Wardân, and so to the warm springs of Jebel Hŭmmâm. Soon after 1 o'clock we crossed Wady el-Ahtha coming down through the plain. All these Wadys are mere depressions in the desert, with only a few scattered herbs and shrubs, now withered and parched with drought. Along these plains we first saw scattered rocks of coral-formation; which we afterwards found also in the adjacent hills. At 4h 10′ we encamped near the middle of Wady Sŭdr, a broad tract on a level with the plain, along which the mountain-torrents sweep down to the sea. It is covered with drift-sand, which accu-

1) M. Monge regards this as the former site of a pottery, where earthen vessels were manufactured on the spot, in order to carry away water; Descr. de l'Egypte, l. c.

2) Travels in Syria, etc. p. 470.

mulates im mounds around the shrubs and low trees. Here were a few stunted tamarisk-trees, and many herbs and shrubs; so that our camels found better pasture than heretofore. The peak Tâset Sŭdr bore nearly East, at the head of the Wady.[1]

The former mountain is so called (Cup of Sŭdr) from a fountain near it which runs towards Wady Sŭdr. Here are the head-quarters of the Terâbîn, who dwell chiefly in the mountains er-Râhah, but visit also the fountain Abu Suweirah, and claim the whole territory from opposite Suez to Wady Ghŭrŭndel. They are poor and few, not numbering in all more than twenty-five tents or some forty families. These Terâbîn are regarded by the Tawarah as strangers here, a colony from the main tribe of the same name, which occupies the country south of Gaza, and is very rich in flocks and herds. Their territory as above described, besides the two fountains just mentioned, includes also those of Mab'ûk, Nâba' and 'Ayûn Mûsa in the north; as well as those of Hawârah and Wady Ghŭrŭndel in the south.

With our Tawarah guides, we had every reason to be satisfied. They were good-natured obliging fellows, ready and desirous to do for us every thing we wished, so far as it was in their power. Beshârah had the command, and took charge of the arrangements for encamping at night and setting off in the morning; but in other respects all seemed to be much on a footing. They walked lightly and gaily by our side; often outstripping the camels for a time, and then as often lagging behind; and they seldom seemed tired at night. Like all the Tawarah they wore turbans, and not the *Kefîyeh* of the northern and eastern

1) The northernmost peak of Jebel 'Atâkah bore N. 34° W. The northern end of Jebel Deraj or Kulâlah, N. 89° W. Southern end of the same S. 53° W.

deserts. Shoes and stockings are luxuries which neither their poverty nor their habits permit them to indulge in; and their sandals were of the rudest and most primitive kind, made of the thick skin of a species of fish caught in the Red Sea. Some of the men had old muskets with match-locks; the barrels mostly very long and apparently of Turkish or western manufacture; while the stocks and locks were ruder, and evidently made among themselves. Several of our Arabs and others whom we saw, carried in their hands a small stick or staff about three feet long, having a crook at the top with an oblong head parallel to the staff, and cut in a peculiar form. This is only worth mentioning, as presenting a remarkable instance of the permanency of oriental customs; for this very stick, precisely in the same form, appears in the hands of figures sculptured on the walls of the Theban temples.[1]

We had paid at Cairo one hundred Piastres in advance for each of our camels, with the express agreement that nothing more was to be demanded until the end of the journey; yet on arriving at Suez, Beshârah came to us in quite a humble mood, saying that all the money received at Cairo had been paid out for necessaries and for former debts, and that now they had nothing wherewith to buy provisions and fodder. To us it was a matter of indifference, whether we gave them money then or afterwards, so long as we took care not to advance them their full pay; and we therefore yielded to their entreaty in this respect. It was of course our wish and endeavour in all things to deal with them kindly, and treat them as men; and in this way we won their confidence and received from them kindness in return. Travellers often complain of the

1) See Rosellini Monumenti Storici, Plates XLII, CXXI, CXXII, CXXXIV, and several others.

obstinacy of the Bedawîn, and of the impositions attempted by them; and probably not without reason; but the fault, I apprehend, most frequently lies on the side of the traveller himself. He cannot usually converse with his guides except through an interpreter, who is to them an object of suspicion or contempt; and the traveller thus becomes himself suspected, and suspects them in turn, until even their most harmless movements are distorted and ascribed to hostile motives. Not unfrequently too, the stranger undertakes to carry his point by threats and violence; and he may thus succeed for the moment; but he will find in the end, that instead of friends, he has made enemies; and he will leave behind no good name, either for himself or for his countrymen who may come after him. Kind words and a timely appeal to their palates and stomachs, are a cheaper and far more efficacious means of carrying a point with the Bedawîn, than hard words and browbeating. Had we adopted the latter course with our guides, I doubt not we should have found them as wilful and obstinate as they have sometimes been represented.

Sunday, March 18*th.* We remained encamped all day in Wady Sŭdr. We had determined, before setting off from Cairo always to rest on the Christian Sabbath, if possible; and during all our journies in the Holy Land, we were never compelled to break over this rule but once. Strange as it may at first seem, these Sabbaths in the desert had a peculiar charm; and left upon the mind an impression that can never be forgotten.

We had made no agreement with our Arabs on this point; leaving it to time and circumstances to open the way for such an arrangement. On mentioning to them yesterday our wish to lie by for to-day, they made no objection, and were quite ready to gra-

tify us. The poor fellows set no value on time; and when a bargain is once made, whether they spend ten days or fifteen upon the way, is a matter of no importance to them. We gave them rice for their dinner; and thus afforded them quite a feast. One of them had sore eyes; and we were glad for his sake and our own, that we had brought with us a supply of eye-water.

About noon three men on camels came up and stopped near us for the rest of the day and night. One was a young monk, a sort of noviciate in the Convent of Mount Sinai; another a Greek priest from Philippopolis; and the third a Wallachian pilgrim; all on their way to the Convent. They kept near us during several of the following days.

Monday, March 19th. We rose early and set off with the rising sun; which, throwing its mellow beams across the Gulf, gave us a distinct view of the dark face of 'Atâkah, and of the more southern Kulâlah (as our Arabs called it) with its long ridge, and of the broad Wady Tawârik between these two mountains. Keeping on our way over the same great plain, we reached at $9\frac{1}{4}$ o'clock the north side of Wady Wardân, a broad strip like Wady Sŭdr, marked by torrent-beds and drifts of sand. In it towards the sea-shore is the fountain Abu Suweirah, which usually affords a small quantity of sweet water; but dries up when the rains fail for a season. Here was the scene of an interesting story of Arab warfare, related by Burckhardt.[1] The mountains on the east still bore the general name er-Râḥah; but different parts were now named after the Wadys which descend from them; as Tâset Sŭdr, Jebel Wardân, and the like. Near the head of Wady Wardân, a range of hills comes off from these mountains in a S. W. direction; while near

1) Page 471. I shall recur to the same story further on, in speaking of the character of the Tawarah.

the mouth of the same Wady a low chain of sand-hills begins on the right, and runs towards the S. E. These unite about four hours from Wady Wardân, and terminate the great plain. At 12 o'clock we entered among the hills, the road winding for a time under the eastern side of two high hills or banks of sand and pebbles; and after twenty-five minutes crossed a ridge where we had the first view of Jebel Hŭmmâm, bearing South. The way continued among hills of limestone formation, all equally destitute of vegetation, and some of them exhibiting an abundance of crystallized sulphate of lime. Twenty minutes further brought us to the small Wady el-'Amârah, having in it a few scattered shrubs. At $2\frac{1}{2}$ o'clock we passed a large square rock lying near the foot of the hill on our right. It is called Hajr er-Rukkâb, "Stone of the Riders," and is mentioned by Niebuhr. Fifteen minutes beyond this, we came to the fountain Hawârah, lying to the left of the road on a large mound, composed of a whitish rocky substance formed apparently by the deposites of the fountain during the lapse of ages. No stream was now flowing from it; though there are traces of running water round about. The basin is six or eight feet in diameter, and the water about two feet deep. Its taste is unpleasant, saltish, and somewhat bitter; but we could not perceive that it was very much worse than that of 'Ayûn Mûsa; perhaps because we were not yet connoisseurs in bad water. The Arabs however pronounce it bitter, and consider it as the worst water in all these regions. Yet when pinched, they drink of it; and our camels also drank freely. Near by the spring were two stunted palm-trees; and round about it many bushes of the shrub Ghŭrkŭd, now in blossom.[1] This is a low bushy thorny shrub,

1) *Peganum retusum* Forsk. Flora. Aeg. Arab. p. LXVI. More correctly *Nitraria tridentata* of Desfontaines; Flora Atlant. I. 372. Comp. Gesenius' Note on Burckhardt, p. 1082.

producing a small fruit which ripens in June, not unlike the barberry, very juicy and slightly acidulous. The Ghŭrkŭd seems to delight in a saline soil; for we found it growing around all the brackish fountains which we afterwards fell in with, during our journies in and around Palestine. In the midst of parched deserts, as in the Ghôr South of the Dead Sea, where the heat was intense and the fountains briny, the red berries of this plant often afforded us a grateful refreshment.

The fountain of Hawârah is first distinctly mentioned by Burckhardt. Pococke perhaps saw it; though his language is quite indefinite.[1] Niebuhr passed this way; but his guides did not point it out to him; probably because the Arabs make no account of it as a watering-place. Since Burckhardt's day it has generally been regarded as the bitter fountain Marah, which the Israelites reached after three days' march without water in the desert of Shur.[2] The position of the spring and the nature of the country tally very exactly with this supposition. After having passed the Red Sea, the Israelites would naturally supply themselves from the fountains of Nâba' and 'Ayûn Mûsa; and from the latter to Hawârah is a distance of about sixteen and a half hours, or thirty-three geogr. miles; which, as we have seen above, was for them a good three days' journey. On the route itself there is nò water; but near the sea is now the small fountain Abu Suweirah, which may then have been dry or not have existed; and in the mountains on the left is the "Cup of Sŭdr," several hours from the road and probably unknown to the Israelites. I see therefore no valid objection to the above hypothesis. The fountain lies at the specified distance, and on their direct route; for

1) Travels, I. p. 139. fol. 2) Ex. xv. 23, seq. Num. xxxiii. 8.

there is no probability that they passed by the lower and longer road along the sea-shore. We made particular inquiries, to ascertain whether the name Marah still exists, as reported by Shaw[1] and others; but neither the Tawarah Arabs, nor the inhabitants of Suez, nor the monks of the Convent, so far as we could learn, had ever heard of it. Travellers have probably been led into error by the name of Wady el-'Amârah; or possibly by el-Mŭrkhâh, a fountain nearly two days' journey further South, on the lower route to Mount Sinai and Tûr.

Burckhardt suggests that the Israelites may have rendered the water of Marah palatable, by mingling with it the juice of the berries of the Ghŭrkŭd.[2] The process would be a very simple one, and doubtless effectual; and the presence of this shrub around all brackish fountains, would cause the remedy to be always at hand. But as the Israelites broke up from Egypt on the morrow of Easter, and reached Marah apparently not more than two or three weeks later, the season for these berries would hardly have arrived. We made frequent and diligent inquiries, whether any process is now known among the Bedawîn for thus sweetening bad water, either by means of the juice of berries, or the bark or leaves of any tree or plant; but we were invariably answered in the negative.[3]

Proceeding on our way, in half an hour we had on our left a small plain or basin, called Nukeia' el-Fûl, in which water stands after abundant rains, causing a soil of rich loam, which produces a luxuriant vegetation. This was testified by the large stalks of an

1) Travels, 4to. p. 314.

2) Travels in Syria, etc. p. 474.

3) It is perhaps hardly necessary to remark, that the Hebrew original, like the English version, has here only the general word for "tree;" and therefore all speculations as to the name of any particular plant can only rest on air. See Lord Lindsay's Letters, etc. I. p. 263, seq.

abundance of weeds now dry. On some portions of it the Terâbîn sow wheat and barley after the rains, and reap a good crop. It was the only spot of soil known to our Arabs in these parts. A few goats were feeding upon the herbs on the hills around, watched by females. From them we obtained a supply of milk, for which we paid in bread instead of money, as being far more acceptable. These were the first flocks we had seen since leaving Cairo; and we afterwards saw the few tents of the owners, Terâbîn Arabs, pitched near the head of Wady Ghŭrŭndel. We reached this latter Wady at $4\frac{1}{4}$ o'clock; it comes down as a broad valley from the mountains on the left, and runs from N. E. to S. W. to the sea S. of Râs Hŭmmâm. The mountain at its head is called Râs Wâdy Ghŭrŭndel, a continuation of the chain er-Râhah, which here bends off towards the S. E. and E. where it afterwards receives the name et-Tîh, and extends across the peninsula to the Gulf of 'Akabah. Thus far our course all day had been about S. S. E., but we now turned down the Wady S. W. and encamped after half an hour in a deep and narrow part of its bed.

Wady Ghŭrŭndel is deeper and better supplied with bushes and shrubs than any we had yet seen; and like Sŭdr and Wardân it bore marks of having had water running in it the present year. The Ghŭrkŭd is very frequent. Straggling trees of several kinds are found in it; the most common of which is the Tŭrfa, a species of tamarisk, *Tamarix Gallica mannifera* of Ehrenberg, on which our camels browsed freely; and also mimosas or acacias, called by the Arabs Tŭlh and Seyâl. A few small palm-trees are scattered through the valley. We saw many of the wood-ticks mentioned by Burckhardt; but they did not trouble us. About half an hour below our encampment, the Arabs procured water, as they said,

from fountains with a running brook. It was brackish, and of the same general character as that of all the preceding fountains, though less disagreeable than that of Hawârah. We kept it over night in our leather-bottles, and it did not change its taste; though the Arabs said it would grow worse, as Burckhardt also testifies. When the rains fail for two or three years, the brook ceases to flow; but water is always to be found by digging a little below the surface.

This Wady is now commonly regarded as the Elim of Scripture, to which the Israelites came after leaving Marah, and found twelve wells of water and seventy palm-trees.[1] There is nothing improbable in this supposition, if we admit 'Ain Hawârah to be Marah. The fountains of Wady Ghŭrŭndel are two and a half hours, or nearly half a day's journey for the Israelites distant from Hawârah; and are still one of the chief watering-places of the Arabs. The main objection which might here be urged, is the distance from this point to the next station, where the Israelites "encamped by the Red Sea;"[2] a fixed and definite point, as we shall see in the sequel. But this objection may perhaps be evaded.

Beyond Wady Ghŭrŭndel the mountains, or at least a more mountainous tract, may be said to commence. On the right along the coast in the S. W. is the high mountain called Jebel Hŭmmâm, from the hot sulphur-springs at its northern end. On the left the continuation of er-Râhah appears, with several spurs running down from it S. W. along the S. side of Ghŭrŭndel and extending almost to Jebel Hŭmmâm. The whole region is of limestone formation. Wady Ghŭrŭndel does not extend up through the mountains

1) Ex. xv. 27. Num. xxxiii. 9. We found no where any trace of a valley called 'Alîm or Ghâlîm, as reported by Gesenius on the authority of Ehrenberg; see Gesenius Lex. Hebr. art. אִילִם

2) Num. xxxiii. 10.

on the left towards Gaza, as was reported to Burckhardt; but near its head another valley, called Wady Wŭtâh, comes into it from the East; where the latter runs up between the Tîh and a mountain-ridge in front of it, called also Wŭtâh. Here is quite a retired valley hemmed in by mountains, from the head of which a pass leads over to the plain er-Ramleh; the whole forming a shorter but more difficult route from Ghŭrŭndel to Mount Sinai.

Tuesday, March 20th. Niebuhr travelled down Wady Ghŭrŭndel to the Sea, about two and a half hours from our encampment; and then an hour and a half along the shore of the bay called Birket Hŭmmâm Far'ôn to the hot springs; which he and many travellers have described.[1] Thence the way passes up Wady Useit. But the direct road from our encampment in Ghŭrŭndel leads over the high ground between that Wady and Useit. We took this course; and mounting our camels at 6^h 10′ soon turned out of Wady Ghŭrŭndel by a sort of gully, and began to ascend the low ridge before us. On our right was Jebel Hŭmmâm, extending along the coast towards the South, black, desolate and picturesque. At $6\frac{3}{4}$ o'clock we came out upon the higher tract or plain; and soon had a view of Jebel Serbâl, which, as here seen in the direction of its ridge, appeared like a lofty rounded peak, bearing S. E. by S. Twenty minutes further on was a heap of stones called Hŭsân Abu Zenneh, upon which one of our Arabs kicked a quantity of

1) The following is the latest account of these springs, by Rüssegger, who passed this way a few months after us. "These hot sulphur-springs break out from the strata of lower chalk, nearly on a level with the sea, at the foot of the mountain. The largest of them has a temperature of 55° 7 Reaum. that of the air being 26° 3 Reaum. The water deposites a great deal of common salt mixed with sulphur; and the latter is also found sublimated on the walls of the many caverns connected with the fountains and penetrated by their hot vapours." See Berghaus' Annalen der Erdk. März 1839, p. 422. Leonhard's Jahrbuch für Mineralogie, 1839, p. 174.

dirt, crying out, as he said was their custom, "Feed the horse of Abu Zenneh." It marked the place where a horse once died, owned by a person of that name. After another fifteen minutes, we passed the small Wady Um Suweilih, where a branch of the lower road came in from Abu Suweirah. Here was a single acacia or Tŭlh tree. At 7^h 55′ we struck a small branch Wady, and followed it down for half an hour to Wady Useit or Wuseit. This valley resembles Ghŭrŭndel, though not so large; and has a few small palm-trees and a little brackish water standing in holes. The ground in many parts is covered with a white crust apparently nitrous. This Wady runs from E. S. E. to W. N. W., and passing along the northern end of Jebel Hŭmmâm reaches the sea at the bay Hŭmmâm Far'ôn. Here the main branch of the lower road by Abu Suweirah and the hot springs, comes into ours.

Thus far our course was about S. E.; but now turning S. E. by S. we crossed a plain of some extent which takes its name from the small Wady el-Kuweiseh, which we reached at 10 o'clock. On the plain our Arabs pointed out the recent tracks of a hyaena. As we passed on, we had on the right Jebel Hŭmmâm; and on the left other smaller ridges, spurs running out from et-Tîh. The former mountain is lofty and precipitous, extending in several peaks along the shore; consisting apparently of chalky limestone mostly covered with flints, which give to the whole mountain a dark aspect, except where the chalk is seen. Its precipices extend quite down to the sea, and cut off all passage along the shore from the hot springs to the mouth of Wady et-Taiyibeh, except a foot-path for men high up on the mountain. This circumstance renders it certain, that the Israelites must of necessity have passed inside of this mountain by

the road we were now following, to the head of Wady Taiyibeh; for no other road exists, or can exist, in this direction.

Wady Thâl or Athâl followed at $10\frac{3}{4}$ o'clock; running from E. to W. with shrubs and acacias and a few palm-trees; and also some holes with brackish water, like Wady Useit; the ground being likewise covered with a nitrous crust. The mountain at the head of this valley takes the name of Râs Wâdy Thâl; and is strictly not a part of Jebel et-Tîh, being divided from it by the Wady Wŭtâh above mentioned. Wady Thâl finds its way down through Jebel Hŭmmâm to the sea by a deep and narrow ravine; but on the South of it there is still no road along the shore. Proceeding now on a course nearly South, and passing round the end of a spur running S. E. from Jebel Hŭmmâm, we came after a few rods to a small heap of stones under a bank by the roadside, with a few rags scattered around, which the Arabs regard as the tomb of a female saint, 'Öreis Themmân, or Bride of Themmân. Burckhardt says, the Arabs are in the habit of saying a short prayer here; but ours did not. Crossing a low hill we came at $11\frac{3}{4}$ o'clock to Wady Shubeikeh, running here nearly South, the bed of which we followed. This valley has several branches, which unite further down; and from this junction of the many, comes the name Shubeikeh, "net." While passing down this Wady, our sharp-eyed Arabs discovered two gazelles upon the high ridge on the right; and it was amusing to see with what eagerness both old and young immediately set off in pursuit. They always try to approach the game by a circuit on the side opposite the wind; and having only guns with match-locks they must get within shot without disturbing the animal. This time they came back unsuccessful. The beautiful animals had seen them before they started, and

bounding gracefully over the hills, had not suffered them to come near. But it made quite an incident in the usual monotony of the way. Here too, as in very many other instances, we could not but be struck with the likeness which the Bedawîn bear to the American Indians in many of their habits; especially in the unerring sagacity with which they trace and recognise the shadowy footsteps of persons, and even of camels, upon the surface of the deserts.

Passing the junction of the several branches of Wady Shubeikeh, we soon came, at $12\frac{1}{4}$ o'clock, to an open place, where Wady Humr comes down from the E. S. E., and joining the Shubeikeh, the two then form Wady et-Taiyibeh, which passes down S. W. through the mountains to the sea-shore, two hours distant from this spot.[1] Here the two roads to Mount Sinai separate; the upper and shorter one, which we took, turning to the left up Wady Humr; while the lower and easier one goes down Wady Taiyibeh to the sea. This latter Wady is described as a fine valley inclosed by abrupt rocks, with many trees, and a little brackish water like the preceding Wadys. Where it reaches the sea there is a high promontory on the North; while on the South the mountains retire, leaving a sandy plain with many shrubs, extending southwards for an hour and a half along the shore. Then the mountains come down again to the sea for about the same distance, admitting a passage around them only at low water, while at other times travellers must cross over them; as was the case when Burckhardt passed. Beyond the mountains, towards the South, a large plain opens along the shore, in which at an hour's distance is the bitter fountain el-Mŭrkhâh. Burckhardt describes it as a small pond in the sandstone

1) Burckhardt, p. 625.

rock, near the foot of the mountains which skirt the plain on the East. The taste of the water is bad; owing partly to the weeds, moss, and dirt, with which the pond is filled; but chiefly, no doubt, to the saline nature of the soil around it. Our Arabs however said it was better than the water of Hawârah. Next to Ghŭrŭndel, it is the principal watering-place of the Arabs on this road. Burckhardt also mentions a reservoir of rain-water in Wady edh-Dhafary, half an hour S. E. by S. from el-Mŭrkhâh. An hour or more S. of this latter fountain (el-Mŭrkhâh), the road to Sinai separates from that to Tûr; the latter keeping along the coast; while the former enters the mountains through Wady Shellâl, and so continues through Wady Mukatteb to Wady Feirân, where there is water and also cultivation.[1]

It has been already remarked, that the Israelites must have passed from Ghŭrŭndel inside of Jebel Hŭmmâm to the head of Wady et-Taiyibeh; and it must also have been on the plain at the mouth of this valley, that they again encamped by the Red Sea.[2] The nature of the country shows conclusively, that if they passed through this region at all, they must necessarily have taken this course, and had their encampment at this place. From Ghŭrŭndel to the head of Taiyibeh we found the distance to be six hours, making eight hours or sixteen geogr. milest o its mouth; a long day's journey for such a multitude. This is the objection which might be urged against the identity of Ghŭrŭndel and Elim; and might lead us to place Elim perhaps in Wady Useit. Still, as Ghŭrŭndel is one of the most noted Arab watering-places, and the Israelites very probably would have rested there several days; it would not be difficult for them for once to make a longer march and

1) See in general Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, etc. p. 623, seq.

2) Num. xxxiii. 10.

thus reach the plain near the sea. Besides, in a host like that of the Israelites, consisting of more than two millions of people, with many flocks, it can hardly be supposed that they all marched in one body. More probably the stations as enumerated refer rather to the head-quarters of Moses and the elders, with a portion of the people who kept near them; while other portions preceded or followed them at various distances, as the convenience of water and pasturage might dictate. Water, such as it is, they would find in small quantities throughout this tract; and they probably continued to practise the method of sweetening it which they had been taught at Marah; for we hear no more complaint of bad water. But how they could have obtained a *sufficiency* of water during their whole stay in the peninsula and their subsequent wanderings in the desert, even where no want of water is mentioned, is a mystery which I am unable to solve; unless we admit the supposition, that water was anciently far more abundant in these regions, than at present. As we saw the peninsula, a body of two millions of men could not subsist there a week, without drawing their supplies of water, as well as of provisions, from a great distance.

From their encampment at the mouth of Wady et-Taiyibeh, the Israelites would necessarily advance into the great plain, which, beginning near el-Mŭrkhâh, extends with a greater or less breadth almost to the extremity of the peninsula. In its broadest part, northward of Tûr, it is called el-Kâ'a. This desert plain, to which they would thus necessarily come, I take to be the desert of Sin, the next station mentioned in Scripture.[1] From this plain they could enter the mountains at various points, either by the present

1) Ex. xvi. 1. Num. xxxiii. 11.

nearer route through the Wadys Shellâl and Mukatteb, or perhaps by the mouth of Wady Feirân itself. Their approach to Sinai was probably along the upper part of this latter valley and Wady esh-Sheikh; but the two subsequent stations, Dophkah and Alush, are mentioned so indefinitely, that no hope remains of their ever being identified.[1] The same is perhaps true of Rephidim, to which we shall recur again in the sequel.

We were for a time quite at a loss, which of the roads to take from the head of Wady et-Taiyibeh to Sinai. We wished much to see the celebrated inscriptions in Wady Mukatteb on the lower road; and we wished just as much to visit the mysterious monuments of Sŭrâbît el-Khâdim near the upper one. As we knew, however, that similar inscriptions existed along this latter route, though not in such multitudes, we decided to take it; and turning into Wady Humr at a quarter past noon, we proceeded up that valley on a course E. S. E.[2] The mountains around the head of Wady et-Taiyibeh, where we now were, abound in salt; and our Arabs brought us several pieces of it, beautifully white. Wady Humr is broad, with precipitous sides of limestone, from one hundred to one hundred and fifty feet high. We here found the heat very oppressive, occasioned by the reflection of the sun from the chalky cliffs; although the thermometer in the shade rose only to 80° F. Water had evidently been running here not long before; and the herbs and shrubs were fresher than usual.

1) Num. xxxiii. 12, 13.

2) Burckhardt gives the name of Taiyibeh to our Wady Shubeikeh; and that of Shubeikeh to the lower part of Wady Humr. We had his book with us, and were aware of this difference on the spot; but all our guides knew no other application of these names than that given in the text. I would not fail, however, here and elsewhere, to bear testimony to the extreme general accuracy of this lamented traveller, in his topographical details and descriptions. His orthography of Arabic names is not always so exact; yet it is all we have hitherto had.

After two hours the valley opens out into a wide plain; another broad Wady called Ibn Sŭkr comes in obliquely from the East; while almost in front rises the high dark pyramidal peak of Sarbût el-Jemel, which had been in sight occasionally ever since we left Wady Ghŭrŭndel. This mountain is of limestone and is connected by low ridges with et-Tîh, or rather with Jebel Wŭtâh, which runs in front of et-Tîh and parallel to it. A ridge also apparently runs off from Sarbût el-Jemel towards the S. W. and bounds the plain in that quarter. We struck across the plain towards the S. E. corner of the pyramidal mountain, which rose naked and desolate before us, seeming to cut off all further progress. Indeed it was not till we arrived almost at its foot, that we perceived the opening of a Wady coming down through the ridge, which we entered and turned the S. E. point of the mountain at 3^h 25′. We now proceeded up through this mountain-gorge, with lofty walls of rock two or three hundred feet high on each side, still bearing the name of Wady Humr. The southern mountain is called Um ez-Zuweibîn, from a heap of stones in the road. Here we first entered the sandstone region; the wall upon our right being of that material; while that on the left was still apparently chiefly limestone. After about an hour we came (at $4\frac{1}{2}$ o'clock) to a sharp turn at right angles in the valley, which then turns short again and passes on in the same direction as before. At the last of these corners, on the right, we found several rude drawings on the rocks, and also some of the famous Sinaite inscriptions, like those of Wady Mukatteb. One large block which had fallen from the cliff above, was covered with them, mostly short, and beginning with the usual initial letters, like those copied by Burckhardt and others. On another smaller stone are rude draw-

ings of camels or horses; for it was hard to tell which. One rider is armed with a spear, and before him stands a man with sword and shield. Is the former perhaps a knight? On one stone were two crosses; but in this instance they were evidently later than the neighbouring inscriptions. The spot is one where travellers would be likely to rest during the heat of the midday sun. Burckhardt mentions the drawings, but not the inscriptions.[1]

A little beyond this place our Arabs expected to find rain-water among the rocks; and scattered themselves, running off into the different openings of the mountains, to seek for it. They were not very successful, finding but little, and that strongly impregnated with camel's dung. Yet our Arabs seemed to drink it with gusto. We now found ourselves in fact straitened for water. What we had brought from the spring Nâba' near Suez, had become much worse than at first; and since then we had met with none fit to fill the empty water-skins. We had got tolerably accustomed to a *leathery* taste in the water we carried; but had not yet learned to relish that which was briny and bitter, or which smacked of camel's dung. This however was the only time we were thus straitened; nor did we now suffer much inconvenience. We encamped at 5^h 10′ in Wady Humr, after a long day's march of eleven hours, near the place where the high rocks on either side terminate. The valley has several trees and many shrubs, so that the camels found good pasturage. The only trees throughout this region are the Tŭrfa, properly a tamarisk, with long narrow leaves and without thorns, the same on which the manna (Arabic *Monn*) is elsewhere found; and the *Tŭlh* or *Seyâl*, said by the Arabs to be identical, a species of very thorny acacia, producing a little gum

1) Page 476.

arabic of an inferior quality.[1] This the Arabs sometimes gather and sell, when not too lazy. But all these trees are here small and stunted, for the want both of soil and of water.

Wednesday, March 21st. We set off at 6h 20′, still following up Wady Humr, E. S. E. The rocks on our right became lower; while on our left the high mountain Jebel Wŭtâh rose almost from the bank of the Wady. This is strictly a spur of Jebel et-Tîh, connected with it at the eastern end, and thence running westward parallel with it, having the retired Wady Wŭtâh between. In less than an hour, the rocks ceased on the right; and at 7h 15′ a road turned off on that side to Wady en-Nŭsb, across an uneven sandy plain called Debbet en-Nŭsb. This road is often taken by the Arabs and by travellers on account of the fine spring of water in that valley; but it is longer, and returns after some hours into the direct road. One or two of our men with a camel were sent round by this route, in order to fill the water-skins; and they brought us a load of better water than we had found since leaving the Nile. Wady Humr now spreads out into a broad plain sprinkled over with herbs, extending around the E. end of Jebel Wŭtâh quite to et-Tîh. At 8 o'clock the valley became narrower between sand-hills for half an hour; but then opened again as before. At 9 o'clock we reached the head of the Wady or plain, whence we ascended for twenty minutes a rocky slope covered with sand.

From this spot we had a wide view over the surrounding country. On our left was the Tîh, a long, lofty, level, unbroken ridge, the continuation of er-

1) This tree is the *Mimosa Sejal* of Forskal; Flora Aeg. Arab. p. 177. By later botanists it is known as *Acacia gummifera*, and is called by Abdallatif *Tŭlh*; Sprengel Hist. Rei Herbar. I. p. 270.

Râhah, stretching off eastward as far as the eye could reach, apparently of limestone. On our right and before us, along the foot of the Tîh, lay an uneven sandy plain, several miles in breadth, full of low broken ridges and water-courses. This sandy plain extends, as we afterwards found, through the whole interior of the peninsula, almost to the eastern coast. It lies between the Tîh and the proper mountains of the peninsula, which rose on our right in fantastic shapes and wild confusion. Those adjacent to the plain are of sandstone, cut up by deep vallies and ravines, into which the shallow Wadys which descend from the Tîh across the plain, enter and find their way down to the sea. Further South is a belt of grünstein and porphyry; and then the centre of the peninsula is occupied by large masses of granite, constituting the proper mountains of Sinai itself. We could here see the pass leading over between et-Tîh and Jebel Wŭtâh into Wady Wŭtâh, and so down to Wady Ghŭrŭndel. It bore from us N. 20° W. In the long ridge of the Tîh itself, which our Arabs said takes this general name from the high desert on its northern side, they pointed out two passes, through which caravan-roads lead from Sinai to Gaza and Hebron. The westernmost (still some hours E. of where we stood) is called er-Râkineh, and the other el-Mureikhy. Between them is a third, called el-Wŭrsah, used only by the Arabs, being too steep and difficult for loaded caravans. From it a Wady of the same name descends southwards across the plain to Wady Nŭsb, and is probably the Warsân mentioned by Niebuhr.[1] Still further East, Jebel et-Tîh divides into two ridges, which then run nearly parallel, at the distance of several hours from each other, to the Gulf of 'Akabah. So far as we could

1) Reisebeschr. I. p. 231.

learn, the southern branch is at first called edh-Dhŭlŭl, and the northern one in its western part, el-'Öjmeh. A road leads from Sinai by a pass over the southern ridge to the head of Wady ez- Zŭlakah and 'Ain;[1] and thence by another pass over the northern ridge to Gaza and Hebron.

Proceeding over this plain in a direction E. S. E. before coming upon the sand we crossed several shallow Wadys, studded with shrubs, all flowing towards Wady Nŭsb. One of them, at 10 o'clock, was called Wady Beda'. Beyond this, on the right, are three springs of brackish water, called el-Mâlih. Crossing a low ridge at 10^h 45′, we got our first view of the granite peaks around Sinai, still indistinct and nameless; bearing S. S. E. while Serbâl at the same time bore S. by E. Here we came upon the great sandy tract, which we had seen before, called by the Arabs Debbet er-Ramleh, and also, according to Burckhardt, Raml el-Mŭrâk, extending eastward further than the eye could reach. Among the sandstone mountains on our right, the site of Sŭrâbît el-Khâdim had already been pointed out to us; and at $11\frac{1}{4}$ o'clock we turned off to the right on a course nearly S. to visit it; leaving our servants and loaded animals to follow the direct road to the head of Wady el-Khŭmîleh, and encamp a short distance within that valley.

In about half an hour we descended into a broad sandy valley, called Seih en-Nŭsb, which runs S. W. along the mountains and enters them obliquely, having several branches coming in also from the East and S. E. In one of these we crossed about noon the other road, coming up from the fountain in Wady Nŭsb, of

1) This pass is mentioned by Laborde, who asserts it to be the *only* pass or road leading over et-Tîh. Voyage en Arab. Petr. p. 63. Engl. ed. p. 226. Sir F. Henniker passed by way of er-Râkineh; as also Breydenbach and Fabri in 1484.—A special Itinerary of all these routes is given in Note XXII, at the end of the volume.

which the Seih is the principal head. This path passes on eastward up a sandy hill called el-Mŭrâk, and joins the direct road still upon the plain. Our way led across the same hill of sand, but further to the right; and we found the ascent very toilsome from the depth and looseness of the sand; there being no trace of a path. Descending again we reached a broad sandy valley, called Wady Sûwuk, running from S. E. to N. W. within the skirts of the mountains into Wady Nŭsb. On the further side of this valley we left our camels at half past 1 o'clock, and crossing on foot a ridge of deep sand towards the West into a rocky ravine, we began the difficult ascent of the mountain at its S. E. end.

The mountain may be some six or seven hundred feet high; and is composed entirely of precipitous sandstone rock, mostly red, but alternating occasionally with strata of different shades. A track leads up the toilsome and somewhat dangerous ascent, along the face of the precipice at the head of the ravine, marked only by small heaps of stones. Climbing slowly and with difficulty to the top, we found ourselves at the end of three quarters of an hour upon a level ridge, connected with a tract of high table-land of sandstone formation, much resembling the Saxon Switzerland, and like it intersected in every direction by deep precipitous ravines; while higher peaks of irregular and fantastic form lay all around us. A short distance westward, on this ridge, with a deep chasm upon either side, are situated the singular and mysterious monuments of Sŭrâbît el-Khâdim.

These lie mostly within the compass of a small enclosure, one hundred and sixty feet long from E. to W. by seventy feet broad, marked by heaps of stones thrown or fallen together, the remains perhaps of former walls or rows of low buildings. Within this

space are seen about fifteen upright stones, like tombstones, and several fallen ones, covered with Egyptian hieroglyphics; and also the remains of a small temple, whose columns are decorated with the head of Isis for a capital. At the eastern end is a subterranean chamber excavated in the solid rock, resembling an Egyptian sepulchre. It is square; and the roof is supported in the middle by a square column left from the rock. Both the column and the sides of the chamber are covered with hieroglyphics; and in each of the sides is a small niche. The whole surface of the enclosure is covered with fallen columns, fragments of sculpture, and hewn stones strewn in every direction; over which the pilgrim can with difficulty find his way. Other similar upright stones stand without the enclosure in various directions, and even at some distance; each surrounded by a heap of stones, which may have been thrown together by the Arabs. These upright stones both within and without the enclosure, vary from about seven to ten feet in height; while they are from eighteen inches to two feet in breadth, and from fourteen to sixteen inches in thickness. They are rounded off on the top, forming an arch over the broadest sides. On one of these sides usually appears the common Egyptian symbol of the winged globe with two serpents, and one or more priests presenting offerings to the gods; while various figures and cartouches cover the remaining sides. They are said to bear the names of different Egyptian kings; but no two of them to have the name of the same monarch. According to Major Felix, the name of Osirtisen I. is found on one of them, whom Wilkinson supposes to have been the patron of Joseph. Not the least singularity about these monuments, is the wonderful preservation of the inscriptions upon this soft sandstone, exposed as they have been to the air and weather

during the lapse of so many ages. On some of the stones they are quite perfect; on others both the inscription and the stone itself have been worn away deeply by the tooth of time.

This spot was first discovered by Niebuhr in 1761, who, inquiring for the inscriptions of Wady el-Mukatteb, was brought by his guides to this place as one of still greater interest and wonder; or rather, as it would seem, from ignorance on their part of the real object of his inquiries.[1] The next Frank visiter appears to have been the French traveller Bontin in 1811, who was afterwards murdered in Syria; and he was followed by Rüppell in 1817.[2] Many other travellers have since been here on their way to Sinai. So Lord Prudhoe and Major Felix; and after them Laborde and Linant, who have given drawings and views of the place and several of the monuments.[3] All these travellers, with the exception of the two Englishmen, have pronounced this to be an ancient Egyptian cemetery, and these monuments to be tombstones, connected with a supposed colony near the copper mines in Wady en-Nŭsb. That these upright stones resemble the tombstones of the West in form, is true; and this would seem to be the chief circumstance which has given rise to the hypothesis. There is nothing of the kind in Egypt; nor can they well be sepulchral monuments, unless excavated tombs exist beneath them; which there is every reason to believe is not the case. What then could have been the intent of these temples and these memorial-stones in the midst of solitude and silence? in this lone and distant desert, with which they would seem to have no possible connec-

1) Reisebeschr. I. p. 235.
2) Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, etc. p. 573. Rüppell's Reisen in Nubien, etc. p. 267.
3) The most exact description is by Rüppell, as cited in the preceding note.

tion? This is a point wrapped in the darkness of time, which the hand of modern science has not yet unveiled.

An ingenious hypothesis was mentioned to me by the English nobleman named above, viz. that this was perhaps a sacred place of pilgrimage for the ancient Egyptians, just as the mountain near Mecca is to the Muhammedans at the present day; and to it the Egyptian kings made each his pilgrimage and erected a column with his name. A slight historical ground for such an hypothesis, may perhaps be found in the fact, that Moses demanded permission for the Israelites to go three days' journey into the desert in order to sacrifice,[1]—a demand which seems to have caused no surprise to the Egyptians, as if it were something to which they were themselves accustomed. Still all this can claim to be nothing more than conjecture. Yet this lone spot, although inexplicable, is deeply interesting; it leads the beholder back into the gray mists of high antiquity; and fills him with wonder and awe as he surveys here, far from the abodes of life, the labours of men unknown for an object alike unknown.

From the high tract about Sŭrâbît el-Khâdim, there is a wide view of the surrounding country.[2] We saw no traces of mines around the place, as mentioned by Laborde; but our Arabs said that towards the West in Wady Sŭhau, a branch of Wady en-Nŭsb, was found the stone from which *el-Kuhal* is made and carried to market. We suppose this to be antimony; though we saw none of it.

After spending an hour and a quarter among these

1) Ex. viii. 27, 28. [23, 24, Heb.] The object of this journey was to be a 'festival' (חַג), corresponding to the modern *Haj* of the Muhammedans. Ex. x. 9.

2) The pass of Wŭtâh bore N. 30° W.; er-Râkineh N. 20° E.; Mount Serbâl S. 16° E., and Mudha'in, a peak in the cluster of Sinai, S. 33° E.

monuments, we descended again by the same rugged path, and returned to our camels in Wady Sûwuk. From this point to the fountain of Nŭsb is a distance of about two and a half hours; and the Wady Nŭsb, having collected its numerous branches, then finds its way through the mountains to the western Gulf, or rather to the great plain along the coast. In the valley a flock of sheep and goats were feeding, tended by two young girls, whose tents were not far off. The owner of the flock soon made his appearance; and after some chaffering we bought a kid, intending to give our Arabs a good supper. Mounting at $4\frac{3}{4}$ o'clock, we proceeded S. E. up Wady Sûwuk to its head. One of the Arabs led the kid by a string, and as the poor animal trotted nimbly by their side, they were elated at the thought of the savoury meat in prospect. As we passed along the valley, our sharp-sighted guides discovered a *Beden* or mountain-goat (related to the Steinbock of the Alps) among the rocks on our left. One of them immediately started in pursuit; but as he could approach only on the windward side, the goat scented him, and dashed lightly along the side and up the face of the precipice, presenting a graceful object against the sky with his long recurved horns and bounding leaps. The Arab began to mount after him with great agility, but was called back by his companions. At the head of the valley is a steep and rugged pass, which our camels mounted with difficulty; and here we saw the first strata of grünstein. On reaching the top, we found ourselves upon the western ridge of Wady el-Khŭmîleh, a broad sandy tract, thus far a mere arm of the great plain extending towards the S. E. into the mountains. Our tent stood below in the valley; and passing down by a gradual descent, we reached it at three quarters past 5 o'clock. The Greek priests who had kept near us since Sun-

day, had passed on some distance beyond; and we saw them no more until we reached the Convent.

The poor kid was now let loose, and ran bleating into our tent as if aware of its coming fate. All was activity and bustle to prepare the coming feast; the kid was killed and dressed with great dexterity and despatch; and its still quivering members were laid upon the fire and began to emit savoury odours, particularly gratifying to Arab nostrils. But now a change came over the fair scene. The Arabs of whom we had bought the kid, had in some way learned that we were to encamp near; and naturally enough concluding that the kid was bought in order to be eaten, they thought good to honour our Arabs with a visit, to the number of five or six persons. Now the stern law of Bedawîn hospitality demands, that whenever a guest is present at a meal, whether there be much or little, the first and best portion must be laid before the stranger. In this instance the five or six guests attained their object, and had not only the selling of the kid, but also the eating of it; while our poor Arabs, whose mouths had long been watering with expectation, were forced to take up with the fragments. Beshârah, who played the host, fared worst of all; and came afterwards to beg for a biscuit, saying he had lost the whole of his dinner.

Thursday, March 22nd. Starting at $6\frac{1}{2}$ o'clock, we continued down Wady Khŭmîleh on a S. E. course. It is wide, with many shrubs and with rocks of sandstone on each side. In fifteen minutes we came to a rock on the right hand covered with Sinaite inscriptions, figures of camels, mountain-goats, and the like. Five minutes further is another large rock on the same side with inscriptions, and several crosses apparently of the same age. Here are also inscribed the names of several travellers; one is *Palerne*, 1582,

perfectly fresh. The Wady gradually contracts and grows deeper; and at 8 o'clock we came to the spot where it turns a sharp angle to the W. N. W. through a narrow ravine, and passes by itself to the sea, as our Arabs said, (probably under another name,) receiving Wady Mukatteb on the way. We still kept on the same course, ascending a branch Wady for twenty minutes to a small plain, forming the water-shed between it and a similar short Wady running S. E. to the Seih. On this little plain is a lone Arab burial-ground, called Mŭkberat esh-Sheikh Ahmed, where all the Bedawîn, who die in the vicinity, are buried. A few stones rudely piled together, or set up singly, serve to mark the graves; and there was one new grave. All around was silence and solitude, with nothing to disturb this wild abode of the dead.

Half an hour more brought us to Wady es-Seih, which here comes down from the S. E. and turning more to the W. runs on to join Wady Khŭmîleh further down. The sandstone rocks had already began to give place to grünstein and porphyry. Passing up Wady Seih we came at 9 o'clock to an open place among precipitous hills of porphyry and granite, disintegrated and shattered, where several Wadys unite and flow off through Wady Seih. Here the mountains begin to assume features of grander and sterner desolation. We entered the mouth of Wady el-Bŭrk on a course S. by W. for half an hour, when it turned S. S. E. Here at the angle are a few short inscriptions, quite near the ground. The valley is narrow, and its bed covered with *debris* from the adjacent mountains,—loose stones and fragments of rocks spread over the surface and rendering the way difficult and painful for the camels. These rocks are chiefly granite and porphyry, intermixed with grünstein. This valley, as well as the open place we had passed, had an un-

usual number of Seyâl trees, the largest we had yet seen.

In this valley the camel of my companion gave out; and he was compelled to mount another, after its load had been distributed among the rest. The camel belonged to Beshârah, who had paid eleven Spanish dollars for it the year before; a low price, as the animal probably had been already broken down. We were told that many camels had died in the peninsula the present year, owing chiefly to the excessive drought; there having been but little rain (or according to the Arab mode of speech, *none*) for now two seasons. There was of course great distress among all the Bedawîn, as we had occasion enough to learn afterwards for ourselves. The wearied camel was left in charge of a boy to follow at a slower pace; and we proceeded on our way. The occurrence detained us for nearly half an hour.

A side valley called Ibn Sŭkr came in from the left at 10^h 45′, in which there is good water at a little distance. Half an hour further on, a rude stone-wall or breast-work crossed the valley, marking the scene of one of the most important events in the history of the Tawarah. The story was told us with great animation by Beshârah, who was himself present at the time. Formerly the carrying of goods between Cairo and Suez belonged of right to the Tawarah, or, in occidental phrase, was a monopoly of theirs. But several years ago the merchants began to employ also the Ma'âzeh and Haweitât, to the great annoyance of the Tawarah, inasmuch as it took from them a source of support and distressed them. To recompense themselves for this outrage, the tribes all combined, and plundered a large caravan of several hundred camels laden with coffee and other merchandise, between Suez and Cairo, bringing home to their mountains a

rich booty of coffee, wares, and camels. The Pasha sent to demand back the plunder. They meantime had revelled in their spoils, and eaten up or disposed of the whole; and their laconic answer was: "We were hungry and have eaten." The Pasha immediately despatched a force of two or three thousand men against them. The Arabs gathered at this place and built a wall, expecting the troops to come along the valley. But the latter divided and climbed along the tops of the mountains on each side in order to get round the Arabs; who of course were compelled to meet them on these heights; and they now pointed out to us the places on the summits of these rugged ridges, where the battle was fought. Almost as a matter of course, the Tawarah were routed with little slaughter; the troops marched to the Convent; the chief Sheikh came and surrendered; and peace was granted on condition of their paying the expenses of the war. Since that time, the Tawarah have remained in quiet subjection to the Pasha.[1]

We reached the top of the pass at the head of Wady Bŭrk at a quarter past noon; and immediately descended along a gully for twenty-five minutes, when we reached Wady 'Âkir, which, coming down from before us, here entered the mountains on our right, flowing off into the great Wady Feirân. This valley we now followed up on a course S. E. by S. Here the coloquintida (colocynthus) was growing, with its yellow fruit already ripe. At first the valley is narrow, but gradually grows wider. At $1\frac{1}{4}$ o'clock, the mouth of Wady Kineh was pointed out, coming in from the S.

1) Laborde relates the same story, as having occurred several years before his journey in 1828. He makes it refer to the caravan of the Haj on its return from Mecca. This is probably an error. Voyage en Arab. Petr. p. 72. Engl. p. 264.

2) *Cucumis colocynthus* of Linnæus; in Arabic *Handhal.*

E. through the ridge on our left. Above this point the Wady we were in, loses the name 'Âkir, and takes that of el-Lebweh, from a pass before us at its head. The two Wadys Lebweh and Kineh are parallel to each other; both spread out into wide plains; the ridge between them in some parts almost disappears; so that in several places they run together and form one great sloping plain several miles in breadth, covered with tufts of herbs, chiefly 'Abeithirân, but no trees; furnishing abundant pasturage in seasons when rain falls. In the upper part of the plain of Wady Kineh there is water; and Sheikh Sâlih, the head Sheikh of the Tawarah, with a part of his tribe, was encamped not far off, in sight of our road. The two vallies separate again; and near the pass at the head of el-Lebweh is a sharp isolated peak on the left, called Zub el-Bahry.

The pass itself is a mere continuation of the plain, a broad water-shed, rising very gradually on one side and descending as gradually on the other. Burckhardt has noticed this as a peculiar conformation of the mountain ranges of the peninsula; "the vallies reaching to the very summits, where they form a plain, and thence descending on the other side."[1] But the same general feature exists in the great Wady el-'Arabah, and in various parts of Palestine. We reached the plain at the top of the ascent at $3\frac{1}{4}$ o'clock, where is a small Arab cemetery. The surface soon begins to slope towards the S. and opens out to an extensive plain with many shrubs, forming the head of Wady Berâh and surrounded by peaks of moderate

1) Travels in Syria, etc. pp. 483, 484. Burckhardt gives the name el-Lebweh to the pass at the head of Wady Bŭrk; but our Arabs on being questioned were very positive that this was not the case, and said that Lebweh was the name of three different passes at and near the head of the Wadys Lebweh and Kineh.

height. A long, high, dark-looking mountain was pointed out to us, called ez-Zebîr, bearing S. about two hours distant; on the top of which there was said to be table-land and pasturage for camels. Passing down the plain on the same course as before (S. E. by S.) we came at 4 o'clock to its S. E. part, where it contracts between noble granite cliffs; and entering Wady Berâh for a short distance, we encamped at $4^h\ 15'$ on its western side. The rocks on both sides of this valley presented everywhere surfaces so well adapted for inscriptions, that leaving my companions to follow down the right side, I struck across to the left. Here on a large rock I found four short inscriptions in the usual unknown character. Over the longest of them was a cross, evidently of the same date. Just by our tent was also a huge detached rock covered with similar inscriptions much obliterated. Here were two crosses, apparently of later date, or else retouched.

This evening our Arabs again brought us good water from a spring in the small Wady Retâmeh, which enters the Berâh opposite our encampment. They had shown themselves every day more and more obliging; and commonly took as active a part in pitching the tent and arranging the luggage for the night, as our servants. In all these matters, our resolute Komeh was master and director, and made the Arabs do his bidding. He found the less difficulty in this, as being cook and purveyor he knew how to distribute the fragments in his department with great nicety and discrimination; so that it was an object of some importance to a hungry Bedawy to keep on good terms with him.

Among the many plants we had noted on this and the preceding days, some of the most frequent besides the 'Abeithirân were the *Retem*, a species of the broom-

plant, *Genista raetam* of Forskal,[1] with small whitish variegated blossoms, growing in the water-courses of the Wadys; the *Kirdhy*, a green thorny plant with small yellow flowers, which our camels cropped with avidity; the *Silleh*, apparently the *Zilla myagrioides* of Forskal;[2] the *Shîh* or *Artemisia Judaica* of Sprengel; and the *'Ajram*, from which the Arabs obtain a substitute for soap, by pounding it when dry between stones, and mixing it with the water in which they wash their linen.

Friday, March 23d. We set off again at 6^h 25′ down Wady Berâh, our course being S. S. E.$\frac{1}{2}$E. We had ever wished to set off earlier in the morning, than we had yet been able to do. The Arabs were never in a hurry to break up; and this morning especially they were occupied with Beshârah's camel, which had come up late at evening, and was now sent home to their encampment. As we were approaching Sinai, and no longer needed to carry a load of water, this caused us little inconvenience. But let us rise as early as we would, we found it difficult to start under an hour and a half or two hours. It was decidedly a saving of time, on the whole, to breakfast before setting off, rather than stop on our way for that purpose; and this with the delay of packing the utensils and tent, and loading the camels, always made our departure later than the time appointed.

As we proceeded down the valley, the rocks on the right presented several inscriptions in the same unknown writing. Indeed we found them at almost every point where the overhanging or projecting rocks seemed to indicate a convenient resting place. The mountains on either side continued of the same character as those we had passed yesterday, chiefly porphyry

1) Flora Aegypt. Arab. p. 214. 2) Ibid. p. 121.

and red granite, with an occasional vein of gray granite. The rock was mostly of a coarse texture, much disintegrated and often worn away by the weather, like sandstone. Not unfrequently thin perpendicular veins apparently of grünstein or porphyry were to be seen, projecting above the granite and running through the rocks in a straight line over mountains and vallies for miles, and presenting the appearance of low walls. They reminded me strongly of the stone-fences of New England.—At a quarter past 7 o'clock the Wady spread out into a plain, where the peak of Jebel Mûsa was first pointed out to us bearing S. E. while the left hand peak of Serbâl bore S. W. Ten minutes later Wady 'Ösh, a side valley, entered the Berâh from the left, in which sweet water is found at some distance. Opposite its mouth, on our right, was an old cemetery, apparently no longer used by the Arabs. The heaps of stones which mark the graves are larger than usual, and our guides referred them back to the times of the Franks; as the Bedawîn do every thing of which they know nothing themselves. They seem to have a general impression, not perhaps a distinct tradition, that the country was once in the possession of Frank Christians. At $7\frac{3}{4}$ o'clock Wady el-Akhdar came in from the N. E. It was said to begin near Jebel et-Tîh, where there is a spring of the same name, 'Ain el-Akhdar; and uniting here with the Berâh, it passes on S. W. to join Wady esh-Sheikh. The united valley after this junction takes the name of Wady Feirân. The point where the Berâh and Akhdar unite, is a broad open space covered with herbs and surrounded by low hills. Here is a fine view of Mount Serbâl, which rose in full majesty upon our right at the distance of twelve or fifteen miles, being separated from us only by a low ridge or tract beyond which lies Wady Feirân. As thus seen, it

presents the appearance of a long, thin, lofty ridge of granite, with numerous points or peaks, of which there are reckoned five principal ones; the whole being strictly what the Germans call a *Kamm*. We saw it now in the bright beams of the morning sun, a grand and noble object, as its ragged peaks were reflected upon the deep azure beyond.

Thus far we had followed the same route which Burckhardt took in 1816; but from this point he turned into the Akhdar, and then crossed higher up to Wady esh-Sheikh, which he then followed to Mount Sinai. We kept the more direct and usual road, crossing the Akhdar, and continuing on a S. S. E. course up the short ascent of Wady Soleif to the top or water-shed, which we passed at $8\frac{1}{4}$ o'clock; and then descending along a Wady still called Soleif towards Wady esh-Sheikh. Here we met Sheikh Tuweileb, on foot, the same who was to be our future guide, returning it was said to his family. At three quarters past 8 o'clock we reached Wady esh-Sheikh, one of the largest and most famous vallies of the peninsula. It takes its rise in the very heart of Sinai, whence it issues a broad valley at first in an eastern direction, and then sweeping round to the North and West, it passes down towards Serbâl. We found it here running from N. E. to S. W. After receiving the Akhdar, it takes the name of Feirân, and as such is well-watered, has gardens of fruit and palm-trees, and receiving many branches runs to the northward of Serbâl quite down to the sea. The lower and easier road from Wady et-Taiyibeh to Sinai enters the Feirân from the head of Wady Mukatteb, and follows it up through Wady esh-Sheikh almost to the Convent. From the point where we now were, this road is long and circuitous; while a shorter one strikes directly towards the Convent, ascending in part by a narrow and difficult pass.

We took the latter; and crossing Wady esh-Sheikh proceeded on a course S. E. by S. up the broad Wady or rather sloping plain, es-Seheb, thickly studded with shrubs, but without trees. Here and around Wady esh-Sheikh are only low hills, lying between the rocky mountains behind us and the cliffs of Sinai before us; and forming as it were a lower belt around the lofty central granite region. Over these hills, low walls of porphyry or grünstein, like those above described, run in various directions, stretching off to a great distance.

This plain of Seheb had been last year the scene of threatened war between the different tribes of the Tawarah; growing out of a dispute as to the right of conducting travellers to and from the convent. The story had some reference to Lord Lindsay and his party; and I shall give it, as we heard it, at the close of the present Section, in speaking of the divisions and character of the Tawarah.

We came to the top of the plain at a quarter before 11 o'clock, where is a short but rough pass, full of *debris*, having on the right a low sharp peak called el-'Örf. From this point to the base of the cliffs of Sinai there is a sort of belt or tract of gravel and sand, full of low hills and ridges, sinking down towards the foot of the cliffs into the Wady Solâf, which runs off W. along their base to join Wady esh-Sheikh. The black and frowning mountains before us, the outworks as it were of Sinai, are here seen to great advantage, rising abrupt and rugged from their very base eight hundred to a thousand feet in height, as if forbidding all approach to the sanctuary within. On the West of the pass, which is here hardly distinguishable, the cliffs bear the name of Jebel el-Haweit. Descending S. S. E. across the belt, we came at $12^h\ 15'$ to Wady Solâf, which has its head not very far to the left, near

a spring called Ghŭrbeh, where some tamarisks and other trees were visible. Here the road from Tûr falls into ours from the S. W., having come up through Wady Hibrân, and crossed over the ridge that separates the waters flowing to that valley from those of Wady esh-Sheikh ;[1] the one running on the North and the other on the South of Serbâl. The same ridge also forms the connecting link between Serbâl and the more central Sinai. This road enters Wady Solâf an hour and a half below.

We now turned up Wady Solâf a little, along the base of the mountains on a S. E. course, passing in fifteen minutes the mouth of a very narrow valley or chasm, Wady Rŭdhwâh, coming down from the S. S. W. through the cliffs; from it a steep pass was said to lead S. W. over the mountains, to a place called Bŭghâbigh with water and gardens at or near the head of Wady Hibrân. Leaving the Solâf at 12¾ o'clock, we began gradually to ascend towards the foot of the pass before us, called by our Arabs Nŭkb Hâwy, "Windy Pass," and by Burckhardt Nŭkb er-Râhah from the tract above it.[2] We reached the foot at a quarter past 1 o'clock, and dismounting commenced the slow and toilsome ascent along the narrow defile, about S. by E. between blackened, shattered cliffs of granite some eight hundred feet high and not more than two hundred and fifty yards apart; which every moment threatened to send down their ruins on our heads. Nor is this at all times an empty threat; for the whole pass is filled with large stones and rocks, the debris of these cliffs. The bottom is a deep and narrow water-course, where the wintery torrent sweeps down

1) Here and elsewhere, in speaking of running waters, I mean of course the waters of the rainy season as they flow off. At this time there was very little (if any) running water in the peninsula. We saw none.

2) Page 596.

with fearful violence. A path has been made for camels along the shelving piles of rocks, partly by removing the topmost blocks and sometimes by laying down large stones side by side, somewhat in the manner of a Swiss mountain road. But although I had crossed the most rugged passes of the Alps, and made from Chamouny the whole circuit of Mont Blanc, I had never found a path so rude and difficult as that we were now ascending.[1] The camels toiled slowly and painfully along, stopping frequently; so that although it took them two hours and a quarter to reach the top of the pass, yet the distance cannot be reckoned at more than one hour. From a point about half way up, the E. end of Jebel ez-Zebîr bore N. 42° W. and two peaks at its western end called el-Benât, N. 60° W. Higher up the path lies in the bed of the torrent and became less steep. As we advanced, the sand was occasionally moist, and on digging into it with the hand, the hole was soon filled with fine sweet water. We tried the experiment in several places. Here too were several small palm-trees, and a few tufts of grass, the first we had seen since leaving the borders of the Nile. Burckhardt mentions a spring called Kaneitar in this part of the pass;[2] but it was now dry; at least we neither saw nor heard of any. In the pass we found upon the rocks two Sinaite inscriptions; one of them having over it a cross of the same date.

It was half past 3 o'clock when we reached the top, from which the convent was said to be an hour distant; but we found it two hours, as did also Burckhardt.[3] Descending a little into a small Wady, which

1) Pococke speaks of this pass as "a narrow vale which has a gentle ascent with water and palm-trees in it." Travels I. fol. p. 142.

2) Page 597.

3) Page 596. Burckhardt travelled in the other direction, from the convent down the pass.

has its head here and runs off through a cleft in the western mountains apparently to Wady Rŭdhwâh, we soon began to ascend again gradually on a course S. E. by S. passing by a small spring of good water; beyond which the valley opens by degrees and its bottom becomes less uneven. Here the interior and loftier peaks of the great circle of Sinai began to open upon us,—black, rugged, desolate summits; and as we advanced, the dark and frowning front of Sinai itself (the present Horeb of the monks) began to appear. We were still gradually ascending, and the valley gradually opening; but as yet all was a naked desert. Afterwards a few shrubs were sprinkled round about, and a small encampment of black tents was seen on our right, with camels and goats browsing, and a few donkies belonging to the convent. The scenery through which we had now passed, reminded me strongly of the mountains around the Mer de Glace in Switzerland. I had never seen a spot more wild and desolate.

As we advanced, the valley still opened wider and wider with a gentle ascent, and became full of shrubs and tufts of herbs, shut in on each side by lofty granite ridges with rugged, shattered peaks a thousand feet high, while the face of Horeb rose directly before us. Both my companion and myself involuntarily exclaimed: "Here is room enough for a large encampment!" Reaching the top of the ascent, or watershed, a fine broad plain lay before us, sloping down gently towards the S. S. E. enclosed by rugged and venerable mountains of dark granite, stern, naked, splintered peaks and ridges, of indescribable grandeur; and terminated at the distance of more than a mile by the bold and awful front of Horeb, rising perpendicularly in frowning majesty, from twelve to fifteen hundred feet in height. It was a scene of solemn

grandeur, wholly unexpected, and such as we had never seen; and the associations which at the moment rushed upon our minds, were almost overwhelming. As we went on, new points of interest were continually opening to our view. On the left of Horeb, a deep and narrow valley runs up S. S. E. between lofty walls of rock, as if in continuation of the S. E. corner of the plain. In this valley, at the distance of near a mile from the plain, stands the convent; and the deep verdure of its fruit-trees and cypresses is seen as the traveller approaches,—an oasis of beauty amid scenes of the sternest desolation. At the S. W. corner of the plain the cliffs also retreat, and form a recess or open place extending from the plain westward for some distance. From this recess there runs up a similar narrow valley on the west of Horeb, called el-Leja, parallel to that in which the convent stands; and in it is the deserted convent el-Arba'în, with a garden of olive and other fruit-trees not visible from the plain. A third garden lies at the mouth of el-Leja, and a fourth further West in the recess just mentioned. The whole plain is called Wady er-Râhah; and the valley of the convent is known to the Arabs as Wady Shu'eib, that is, the Vale of Jethro. Still advancing, the front of Horeb rose like a wall before us; and one can approach quite to the foot and touch the mount. Directly before its base is the deep bed of a torrent, by which in the rainy season the waters of el-Leja and the mountains around the recess, pass down eastward across the plain, forming the commencement of Wady esh-Sheikh, which then issues by an opening through the cliffs of the eastern mountain,—a fine broad valley affording the only easy access to the plain and convent.—As we crossed the plain our feelings were strongly affected, at finding here so unexpectedly a spot so entirely adapted to the Scriptural

account of the giving of the law. No traveller has described this plain, nor even mentioned it except in a slight and general manner; probably because the most have reached the convent by another route without passing over it; and perhaps too because neither the highest point of Sinai (now called Jebel Mûsa), nor the still loftier summit of St. Catharine, is visible from any part of it.[1]

As we approached the mountain our head Arab, Beshârah, became evidently quite excited. He prayed that our pilgrimage might be accepted, and bring rain; and with great earnestness besought, that when we ascended the mountain, we would open a certain window in the chapel there, towards the South, which he said would certainly cause rain to fall. He also entreated almost with tears, that we would induce the monks to have compassion on the people, and say prayers as they ought to do for rain. When told that God alone could send rain, and they should look to him for it, he replied: "Yes, but the monks have the book of prayer for it; do persuade them to use it as they ought."[2] There was an earnestness in his manner which was very affecting, but cannot be described. Just after crossing Wady esh-Sheikh, we passed at the mouth of Wady Shu'eib, a burial-ground much venerated by the Arabs. Here Beshârah repeated a few

1) Monconys appears to have come by the same route in A. D. 1647, "par un chemin très rude, où les chameaux travaillaient beaucoup." He says the convent is seen from the top of the ascent, "dans le fond d'une grande campagne verte qui commence en cet endroit. Elle a une lieue et demi de long, et un grand quart de lieue de large." Tom. I. p. 214. Morison describes the plain as being "d'une lieue de longueur, mais d'une largeur peu considerable;" Relation Historique, p. 91. These notices, although exaggerated, are the most distinct mention of the plain that I have been able to find. Of Shaw's account I can make nothing; p. 314, 4to.

2) "They [the Arabs] are persuaded, that the priests of the convent are in possession of the Taurât, a book sent down to Moses from heaven, upon the opening and shutting of which depend the rains of the peninsula." Burckhardt, p. 567.

words of prayer; the first time we had known him or any of our Arabs pray since leaving Cairo.

From the Wady esh-Sheikh to the convent is a distance of twenty-five minutes, by a difficult path along the rocky bed of the narrow valley. We had come on in advance of the loaded camels, and reached the convent at half past 5 o'clock. Under the entrance were many Arabs in high clamour, serfs of the convent, who were receiving a distribution of some kind of provision from above; we did not learn what. The only regular entrance at present is by a door nearly thirty feet (or more exactly 28 feet 9 inches) from the ground; the great door having been walled up for more than a century. On making known our arrival, a cord was let down with a demand for our letters; and we sent up the one we had received from the branch-convent in Cairo. This proving satisfactory, a rope was let down for us; in which seating ourselves, we were hoisted up one by one by a windlass within to the level of the door, and then pulled in by hand. The Superior himself, a mild-looking old man with a long white beard, received us with an embrace and a kiss, and conducted us to the strangers' rooms. While these were preparing, we seated ourselves in the adjacent piazza, upon antique chairs of various forms, which have doubtless come down through many centuries; and had a few moments of quiet to ourselves, in which to collect our thoughts. I was affected by the strangeness and overpowering grandeur of the scenes around us; and it was for some time difficult to realize, that we were now actually within the very precincts of that Sinai, on which from the earliest childhood I had thought and read with so much wonder. Yet, when at length the impression came with its full force upon my mind, although not

given to the melting mood, I could not refrain from bursting into tears.

We were soon put in possession of our rooms, and greeted with kindness by the monks and attendants. The priests and pilgrim who passed us on the way, had arrived some hours before us. Almonds were now brought, with coffee and date-brandy; and the good monks wondered when we declined the latter. Our servants and baggage arrived later; and having been drawn up in like manner, the former were installed in the kitchen near our rooms, under the auspices of an old man of more than eighty years, our chief attendant. Supper was prepared in an adjoining room, chiefly of eggs and rice, with olives and coarse bread; the Superior making many apologies for not giving us better fare, inasmuch as it was now Lent, and also very difficult to obtain camels to bring grain and provisions from Tûr and elsewhere. Indeed such had been the lack of rain for several years, and especially the present season, that all food and pasturage was dried up; and camels were dying of famine in great numbers. Beshârah, on the way, heard of the death of a dromedary of his at home; and the one which we left behind on the road, died a few days afterwards. It was well that we were to stop some days at the convent; for our camels were nearly worn out, and quite unable to go on. Yet it was for a time somewhat doubtful, whether we should be able to procure others in their stead.

The rooms we occupied were small and tolerably neat; the floor was covered with carpets which had once been handsome, though now well worn; and a low divân was raised along three sides of the room, which served as a seat by day and a place to spread our beds at night. Here all travellers have lodged,

who have visited the convent for many generations; but they have left no memorials behind, except in recent years. The inscriptions pasted upon the walls, which Burckhardt mentions in 1816,[1] commemorating the visits of Rozières, Seetzen, and others, no longer remain; for the walls have been since painted or washed over, and all traces of them destroyed. Instead of them an album is now kept, which does little credit to some of those, whose names figure in it most conspicuously. Father Neophytus, the Superior, came to us again after supper; and as my companion could speak modern Greek with some fluency, we found peculiar favour in the eyes of the good old man, to whom the Arabic was almost an unknown tongue. We had been furnished with a letter of introduction in Arabic from the agent of the convent in Suez, one of the brothers Manueli, and now presented it; but they were obliged to send for the Ikonomos, who deals with the Arabs, to read it. When he came, it was only to say, that as we spoke Greek it was useless to read an Arabic letter.

The geographical position of the convent, as determined by Rüppell in A. D. 1826, is Lat. 28° 32′ 55″ N. and Long. 31° 37′ 54″ E. from Paris, or 33° 58′ 18″ E. from Greenwich.[2] The elevation above the sea, according to Schubert's observations, is 4725. 6 Paris feet; according to Russegger, 5115 Paris feet. The number corresponding to Rüppell's other measurements, would be about 4966 Paris feet.[3]

Saturday, March 24th. We felt as if we had now a place of rest for a time. Our Arabs with their camels had dispersed to their homes; and Beshârah was

1) Page 552.

2) Rüppell's Reisen in Nubien, etc. p. 292. Berghaus' Memoir zu seiner Karte von Syrien, pp. 28, 30.

3) For Schubert's measurements, where not specified in his work, I am indebted to a manuscript copy. For Russegger's, see Berghaus' Annalen der Erdkunde, Feb. u. März 1839, p. 425 seq.

to return after three days to learn when we wished to depart for 'Akabah. We found enough to do for this day, in writing up our journals and examining the vicinity of the convent.

The valley of Shu'eib runs up from the plain S. E. by S. and forms a *cul de sac*, being terminated not far beyond the convent by a mountain less lofty and steep than those on the sides, over which a pass leads towards Shŭrm on the coast of the eastern gulf. The valley is so narrow at the bottom, that while the eastern wall of the convent runs along the water-course, the main body of the building stands on the slope of the western mountain, so that the western wall lies considerably higher than the eastern. The mountains on either side tower to the height of a thousand feet above the valley.

The convent is an irregular quadrangle, 245 French feet long by 204 broad;[1] enclosed by high walls, built of granite blocks, of which there is no lack here, and strengthened with small towers in various parts; in one or two of which there are small cannon. One portion of the eastern wall was now threatening to tumble down; and workmen were already preparing the materials for rebuilding it. Another portion was rebuilt with great solidity by the French when in Egypt, by order of General Kleber, who sent workmen from Cairo for that purpose; and the monks retain a very grateful feeling towards that nation in consequence. The space enclosed within the walls is cut up into a number of small courts, by various ranges of buildings running in all directions, forming quite a labyrinth of narrow winding passages, ascending and descending. Some of the little courts are ornamented with a cypress or other small trees, and

1) Journal of the Prefect of the Franciscans, in 1722.

beds of flowers and vegetables; while many vines run along the sides of the buildings. Every thing is irregular, but neat; and all bears the marks of high antiquity; being apparently the patch-work of various by-gone centuries. In the court near the strangers' rooms is a large well; but the water for drinking is usually taken from the fountain of Moses near the church, and is very pure and fine.

The garden joins the convent on the north, extending for some distance down the valley; and is in like manner enclosed with high walls; which however it would not be very difficult to scale. In the course of the morning the Superior invited us to walk through it, showing us the way himself along a dark and partly subterranean passage under the northern wall of the convent. This is closed by an iron door, now left open all day for the free ingress and egress of the inmates and visitors. The garden, like the convent, lies along the slope of the western mountain, and is formed into several terraces, planted with fruit-trees. At its S. E. corner, near the high entrance of the convent, the wall is mounted on the inside by a stile, with a ladder to let down outside, forming a way of entrance to the garden and convent. By this way ladies are introduced, when they happen to wander as travellers into this solitary region. There is another similar entrance to the garden through a small building on the wall in the N. W. part, which is easier and more used; the wall having here a slight inclination, and being ascended by the help of a rope. At present the passages are left open during the day; but are strictly shut up at night.

The garden was now suffering from drought; but it looked beautifully verdant in contrast with the stern desolation that reigns all around. Besides the tall dark cypresses which are seen from afar, it con-

tains mostly fruit-trees; few vegetables being at present cultivated in it. Indeed, the number and variety of fruit-trees is surprising, and testifies to the fine temperature and vivifying power of the climate, provided there be a supply of water. The almond-trees are very large, and had been long out of blossom. The apricot-trees are also large, and like the apple-trees, were now in full bloom; or rather, were already in the wane. There are also pears, pomegranates, figs, quinces, mulberries, olives, and many vines; besides other trees and shrubs in great variety. The fruit produced is said to be excellent. The Arabs are now on good terms with the monks, and do not rob the gardens; but the long want of rain had made them less productive. This garden, although under the immediate care of the monks, is not well kept, and has nothing ornamental about it; nor is it well irrigated. Still it is a gem in the desert.

As we were walking up and down in the garden, we were met by Sheikh Husein, the former guide of Laborde and other travellers, who was now head Sheikh of his tribe, the Aulâd Sa'îd, and had come to the convent on business. He was a fine-looking intelligent man in middle life, and enjoyed great consideration and influence among the Tawarah and at the convent. We were glad to meet him and answer his inquiries, so far as we could, in respect to the many Frank travellers whom he had known; all of whom he seemed to remember with kindness. Nor was he less disposed to answer our many questions, relative to the parts of the peninsula with which he was best acquainted. We learned on this occasion, that the Arabs are not now, as formerly, wholly excluded from the convent and its precincts; but the Sheikhs and chief men are freely admitted into the garden, where business is often transacted with them; and sometimes

also into the convent itself. A number of the serfs likewise live within the garden-walls. But the ordinary mode of communicating with the common Arabs, is from the high door, or through a small hole in the wall lower down.

In the afternoon we went out through the garden to examine more particularly the plain which we had crossed yesterday. Taking our station on the highest part of the plain, or water-shed, and looking towards the convent, we found the general direction of the plain and valley of the convent to be S. E.½S. or more exactly S. 41° E. The mountain on the left or N. E. of the plain, called Jebel el-Fureia', is long and high, with table-land on the top and pasturage for camels. It extends northward along the pass by which we ascended, and southwards to Wady Sheikh at the S. E. corner of the plain. South of this Wady, the mountain which overhangs the convent on the East, is called Jebel ed-Deir, and also Mountain of the Cross.[1] The mountain on the W. of the pass is called Jebel es-Seru or es-Surey; but S. of the cleft running down to Wady Rŭdhwâh it takes for a time the name of Sŭlsŭl Zeit; and then at its Southern end near the recess, that of el-Ghŭbsheh. Along the plain this mountain is somewhat lower than the opposite or eastern one, and its top more broken into ragged peaks; while over it and through the breaks in its ridge is seen a much higher ridge, further West, called Jebel Tînia. This western side of the plain is quite irregular, from the spurs and points of the mountain which jut out into it. On the W. of the recess above mentioned is Jebel el-Humr, connected by a lower ridge or *col* with el-Ghŭbsheh, over which a pass leads

1) This is the mountain called Episteme by Pococke and others. A cross now stands upon it, and there is said once to have been a convent there; whence its present name.

to Wady Tŭlâh, and so to the head of Wady Hibrân. Jebel Humr runs up for some distance along the western side of el-Leja; and then more to the S. and further back lies the lofty summit of Jebel Kâtherîn, or St. Catharine.

The name of Sinai is now given by the Christians in a general way to this whole cluster of mountains; but in its stricter sense is applied only to the ridge lying between the two parallel valleys Shu'eib and el-Leja. It is the northern end of this ridge, which rises so boldly and majestically from the southern extremity of the plain; and this northern part is now called by the Christians, Horeb; but the Bedawîn do not appear to know that name. From this front the high ridge extends back about S. E. by S. for nearly or quite three miles, where it terminates in the higher peak of Jebel Mûsa, which has commonly been regarded as the summit of Sinai, the place where the law was given.

The Arabs of the present day have no other name for the whole cluster of mountains in the peninsula, than Jebel et-Tûr. It is possible that they may sometimes add the word Sîna (Tûr Sîna) by way of distinction; but this certainly is not usual.[1]

We measured across the plain, where we stood, along the water-shed, and found the breadth to be at that point 2700 English feet or 900 yards; though in some parts it is wider. The distance to the base of Horeb, measured in like manner, was 7000 feet, or 2333 yards. The northern slope of the plain, North of where we stood, we judged to be somewhat less than a mile in length by one third of a mile in breadth.

1) The supposed Ibn Haukal about the eleventh century writes *Tûr Sîna;* see Ouseley's Ebn Haukal p. 29.—Edrisi and Abulfeda have only *Jebel Tûr* and *et-Tûr*; see Edrisi ed. Jaubert, p. 332. Abulfed. Arabia, in Geogr. vet. Scriptores Minores ed. Hudson, Oxon. 1712. Tom. III. p. 74, seq.

We may therefore fairly estimate the whole plain at two geogr. miles long, and ranging in breadth from one third to two thirds of a mile; or as equivalent to a surface of at least one square mile. This space is nearly doubled by the recess so often mentioned on the West, and by the broad and level area of Wady Sheikh on the East, which issues at right angles to the plain, and is equally in view of the front and summit of the present Horeb.

The examination of this afternoon convinced us, that here was space enough to satisfy all the requisitions of the Scriptural narrative, so far as it relates to the assembling of the congregation to receive the law. Here too one can see the fitness of the injunction, to set bounds around the mount, that neither man nor beast might approach too near.[1] The encampment before the mount, as has been before suggested, might not improbably include only the head-quarters of Moses and the elders, and of a portion of the people; while the remainder, with their flocks, were scattered among the adjacent vallies.

The reader will I hope pardon these topographical details in a region so interesting. They will help him to understand better the plan which accompanies this volume, and prevent the necessity of many repetitions.—It was late when we returned to the convent; we found the entrances to the garden closed; and were again drawn up through the high door in the wall.

Sunday, March 25th. Having expressed a desire to attend the service in the great church this morning, we were welcomed to it, with the remark, that this was something unusual with travellers. We had already been invited to breakfast afterwards with the

1) Exod. xix. 12, 13.

fraternity in the refectory. The service commenced in the church at 7 o'clock, and continued an hour and a half. It was simple, dignified, and solemn, consisting in great part in the reading of the Gospels, with the touching responses and chants of the Greek ritual. The associations of Sinai came strongly in aid of the calm and holy influence of the service; and every thing tended to awaken in the breast feelings of veneration and devotion. The antique yet simple grandeur of the church is also imposing. The monks seemed each to have his particular seat or stall; and two very old men struck me in particular, who chanted the responses and *Kyrie eleison* with great simplicity and apparent fervour. The service included also the high mass, or consecration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. But the monks did not commune; only one stranger, a Greek from Tûr, partook of it. Just at the close of the service, Father Neophytus, the Prior, as a mark of special favour, called us of his own acccord into the sacristy and showed us the relics of St. Catharine; whose body the monks suppose to have been transported by angels from Alexandria to the summit of the mountain which now bears her name. The relics consist of a skull and hand, set in gold and embossed with jewels.

We now repaired to the refectory, and were seated at the long table next below the priests; the lay brethren and pilgrims taking their seats still further down. The table was neat, and without a cloth; some of the larger vessels were of tinned copper; but the plates, spoons, basins, mugs, and porringers for drinking, were all of pewter. An orange and half a lemon lay by each plate, with a portion of coars ebread. After a grace, a large basin of soup or stew, made of herbs and a species of large shell-fish, was set on; from which each helped himself at will. This with a

few plates of olives and raw beans soaked in water till they sprout, formed the whole repast. The good monks seemed to eat with relish; and some of the very old ones set away their plates with the remains of these tid-bits in drawers beneath the table. During the meal the young monk or deacon, whom we had met with on the way, read from a small pulpit a sermon or homily in modern Greek, in praise of Chrysostom. On rising from the meal a taper was lighted on a small table at the head of the room, around which all gathered, and a prayer was said over a piece of bread and a very small cup of wine. These were then carried around to all standing; every one (including ourselves) breaking off a morsel of the bread and tasting the wine. This was explained to us as a sort of love-feast, a mere symbol of the enjoyment of wine, of which the monks are not permitted by their rules to drink. The ceremony however has no reference to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; as has been erroneously supposed by some travellers.[1] After this, on leaving the room, each one received separately the benediction of the Superior; and we all retired to the adjacent ancient piazza, where coffee was handed round; the deacon following and continuing his reading the whole time.—There was a simplicity and seriousness during the whole repast and its accompaniments, which were quite pleasing.

After an hour or two the Superior came and took us to visit the different parts of the interior of the convent. We now saw the great church with more attention. It is massive and solid, dating from the time of the emperor Justinian, about the middle of the sixth century; although it has since received many additions and repairs. The alcove over the altar exhibits

1) See Incidents of Travel in Arabia Petraca, etc. by Mr. Stephens.

in mosaic a large picture of the Transfiguration, said to be of the same date with the church itself; and also portraits of Justinian and his wife. This has been copied by Laborde. There are many paintings of saints, great and small; and the church is richly furnished with silver lamps suspended around the altar and in various parts. The floor is very neatly paved with marble of different colours, wrought into figures; and was said to have been laid only some sixty or seventy years ago.[1] The ceiling had been quite lately repaired. Back of the altar we were shown the chapel covering the place where the burning bush is said to have stood, now regarded as the most holy spot in the peninsula; and as Moses put off his shoes in order to approach it, so all who now visit it must do the same. The spot is covered with silver, and the whole chapel richly carpeted. Near by, they show also the well from which (as they say) Moses watered Jethro's flocks. Besides the great church, there are twenty-four chapels[2] in different parts of the convent; some of which formerly belonged to the Latins;[3] and some also earlier to the Syrians, Armenians, and Copts. At present all are in the hands of the Greeks. Several were opened for us, but they contain nothing remarkable; and the daily masses which were formerly read in them, are now neglected. We understood, that mass was at present read only occasionally on festival days in some of the more important ones. Not far from the great church stands also a Muhammedan mosk, large enough for two hundred worshippers; a

1) Pococke was told the same in 1738; Travels, I. p. 150. fol.

2) Burckhardt says twenty-seven; the Prefect of the Franciscans, seventeen,

3) When Monconys was here, A. D. 1647, there was still a Roman Catholic chapel near the strangers' rooms, in which one of his companions celebrated Latin mass; Voyages I. p. 227. Sicard saw it in 1715, with a picture of Louis XIV; Nouv. Memoires des Miss. dans le Levant, I. p. 8. Pococke also speaks of it in 1738; Travels I. p. 154. fol.

curious memorial of the tolerance or policy of former tenants of the monastery. It is now fallen into disuse, the convent being rarely visited by Muslim pilgrims.[1]

We were now taken up and down through several of the little courts and many winding corridors; the whole convent indeed being a labyrinth of blind passages. The cells of the monks are in different parts, along these corridors. They are small and mean, and wholly without comfort; being furnished simply with a mat and rug, spread upon a raised part of the floor for a bed, and perhaps a wooden chair, but no table. Shops, or rather places for working in the open air, we saw in several parts, with tools rude and more ancient than the arms that now wield them. They make use of hand-mills; but have also a larger mill turned by a donkey. The Archbishop's room, as it is called, is large and better than the rest, having been once tolerably furnished. It is hung with several portraits; one a likeness of the present Archbishop, who was also until recently Patriarch of Constantinople. In this room is kept a beautiful manuscript of the four Gospels, written on vellum in double columns with letters of gold; the form of the letters being the same as in the Alexandrine Manuscript. The Gospel of John stands first; and there seemed to be no date. It was said to have been presented to the convent by an emperor Theodosius; perhaps the third of that name in the eighth century. We were also shown a copy of the Greek Psalter written on twelve duodecimo pages by a female. The hand was neat; but needed a microscope to read it.—Near this room is the small church said (like so many others) to have been built by Helena.

1) According to some old Arabic records preserved in the convent and read by Burckhardt, this mosk appears to have existed before A. H. 783, or A. D. 1381. Travels in Syria, etc. p. 543.

The library is in another quarter, in a room furnished with shutters, which like the door are very rarely opened. The printed books are mostly in Greek and very old; the library being rich in *Incunabula*, but possessing very few modern books, except some copies of the Scriptures from the British and Foreign Bible Society, presented by a missionary. These rest here now in the same undisturbed quiet, which the Aldine Septuagint has enjoyed for centuries. I made an estimate of the whole number of books by counting the shelves and the volumes on two or three; and found it in this way to be about fifteen hundred volumes. Burckhardt makes fifteen hundred Greek books, and seven hundred Arabic manuscripts; which latter he examined without finding any thing of much value.[1] The library is utterly neglected; private reading forming no part of the duties or pleasures of these worthy fathers.

With evident reluctance, the Superior conducted us to the tomb, or rather charnel-house of the convent, situated near the middle of the garden. We inferred from his conversation, that travellers who have visited it, have sometimes wounded the feelings of the monks by their remarks, or by exhibiting disgust or horror at the ghastly spectacle. The building is half subterranean, consisting of two rooms or vaults; one containing the bones of priests and the other those of lay monks. The dead bodies are first laid for two or three years on iron grates in another vault; and then the skeletons are broken up and removed to these chambers. Here the bones are laid together in regular piles, the arms in one, the legs in another, the ribs in a third, etc. The bones of priests and laymen are piled separately in the different vaults; except the skulls, which are thrown promiscuously together. The

1) Page 551.

bones of the Archbishops, whose bodies are always brought hither with their clothing and property after death, are kept separately in small wooden boxes. The skeleton of one saint was pointed out to us; and also those of two ascetics, who are said to have lived as hermits in the adjacent mountain, wearing shirts of mail next the body and binding themselves together by the leg with an iron chain, parts of which are here preserved.[1] This is emphatically the house of Death, where he has now sat enthroned for centuries, receiving every year new victims, until the chambers are nearly filled up with this assembly of the dead. It must be a solemn feeling, one would think, with which the monks repair to this spot, and look upon these relics of mortality, their predecessors, their brethren, their daily companions, all present here before them in their last earthly shape of ghastliness; with whom too their own bones must so soon in like manner be mingled piecemeal, and be gazed upon perhaps like them by strangers from a distant world. I know of no place where the living and the dead come in closer contact with each other; or where the dread summons to prepare for death, rises with a stronger power before the mind. Yet the monks seemed to regard the whole as an every-day matter, to which their minds have become indifferent from long habit, if not from levity. There was a stillness in their manner, but no solemnity.

In the afternoon we were left undisturbed to the enjoyment of our own thoughts, and our own more private exercises of devotion. Thus passed to us the Christian Sabbath amid this stern sublimity of nature, where the Jewish Sabbath was of old proclaimed to

1) As Burckhardt heard the story, these were two "Indian princes;" p. 564. Monconys in 1647 has it, "two sons of a king of Ethiopia," I. p. 235; and Neitzschitz in 1634, "two brothers, sons of an emperor of Constantinople," Welt-Beschauung, p. 168. So also Van Egmond and Heyman about A. D. 1720; Reizen II. p. 174.

Israel. We were here in the midst of one of the oldest monastic communities on earth; where however all we saw and heard tended only to confirm the melancholy truth, that through the burden of human infirmity, even the holiest and most spirit-stirring scenes soon lose by habit their power to elevate and calm the soul.

The Prior returned to us in the evening, as we sat at tea, and accepted the cup we proffered him, on condition that it should be without milk; it being now the fast of Lent, during which the tasting of every animal substance is strictly avoided. A tea-spoon which had been dipped in milk, was sent out to be washed for his use; but in order to be on the safe side, he chose even then to stir his tea with the handle of the spoon.

Monday, March 26th. Our plan had been laid to devote this and the following day to the ascent of Jebel Mûsa and St. Catharine; and the Superior had taken us into such favour, as to announce his intention of accompanying us at least for the first day. This, he said, was an honour he had never shown to any traveller, except a French Archbishop; whose name and title however we found in the Album as a Roman Catholic Bishop *in partibus* from Syria.[1] Nor was this civility on the part of the Superior perhaps quite so disinterested, as he was willing to have it appear; for it came out, that he wished to take along two younger monks, new comers, in order to make them acquainted with the holy places, so that they might hereafter accompany travellers and pilgrims as guides; there being at present only one monk besides the Prior who knew them all, and he old and infirm. It was arranged that we should to-day visit Jebel Mûsa and

1) The Prior forgot, it seems, that he had accompanied Schubert and his party in like manner to the summit of the mountain the year before; see Schubert's Reise, II. p. 312.

the more northern brow of Horeb; sleep at the convent el-Arba'în; and thence ascend St. Catharine tomorrow. Accordingly, the provisions and other things for the night were sent round through the valley to el-Arba'în, while we took with us over the mountain only such articles as were necessary for the day. We made in all a larger party than was desirable; ourselves and servants, the Superior with the two noviciates and pilgrim who had passed us on the way, (the two former, it seemed, being the persons to be initiated as future guides,) and two Arabs of the Jebelîyeh, serfs of the convent, who carried the articles we took with us. The convent has the monopoly of providing guides and attendants for all persons visiting the sacred places; and employs for this purpose its own serfs, paying them a trifle in grain or bread, and charging to travellers a much higher rate. There are two regular Ghafîrs for travellers, or guides general; one an old man, 'Aîd, who was with us only today, and the other Muhammed, quite a youth. Several Arab children also followed us up the mountain, with no other motive than to get a bit of bread for their pains.

We had risen early in order to set off in good season; but the variety of preparation and some dilatoriness on the part of the Superior, delayed us until a late hour. We at length issued from the N. W. entrance of the garden at $7\frac{1}{4}$ o'clock, and turning to the left, passed along above and back of the convent. The route ascends through a ravine on the South of the convent, running up obliquely through the perpendicular wall of the mountain; and the course from the convent almost to the head of this ravine is due South. The path leads for some time obliquely across the debris; and where it begins to grow steep, has been in part loosely laid with large stones, like a Swiss moun-

tain-road; which stones serve too as a sort of steps. In some places likewise there are more regular steps, but merely of rough stones in their natural state. It is usually reported that there were once regular steps all the way to the summit; but this, like so many other stories, would seem to be only an exaggeration of travellers. At least every appearance at present testifies to the contrary. In many parts steps would be unnecessary; and then there is no trace of them. In other places where they are most regular, some are six inches high and others nearly or quite two feet. Hence, any attempt to estimate the height of the mountain from the pretended number of the steps, as has been done by Shaw and others, can only be futile. After twenty-five minutes we rested at a fine cold spring under an impending rock; the water of which is said to be carried down to the convent by an aqueduct. It is called Ma'yan el-Jebel, the Mountain-spring. At 8^h $25'$ we reached a small rude chapel, still in the ravine, dedicated to the Virgin of the Ikonomos. Here the monks lighted tapers and burnt incense, as they did in all the chapels to which we came afterwards. The Superior, being sixty-five years of age and somewhat heavy, had to rest often; and this made our progress slow. Here and at all the subsequent holy places, while we rested, he related the legend attached to each spot.

The story belonging to this chapel was as follows: In former days, he said, the monks were so annoyed with fleas, and had so few pilgrims, that they determined to abandon the convent. They all went in procession to make their last visit to the holy places of the mountain; and when near the top, the Virgin suddenly appeared to them, bidding them not to depart, for pilgrims should never fail, fleas should disappear, and the plague should never visit them. At the

same time that they thus saw the Virgin higher up the mountain, she appeared also to the Ikonomos on this spot. When the monks returned home, they found a caravan of pilgrims actually arrived; the plague has never since been here; and (according to them) fleas do not exist in the convent; though in this latter particular, our own experience did not exactly justify so unconditional a praise of the Virgin.[1]

The path now turns nearly West and passes up out of the ravine by a steep ascent. At the top is a portal which we reached at $8\frac{3}{4}$ o'clock; and ten minutes afterwards another, through which is the entrance to the small plain or basin, which here occupies the top of the lofty ridge between the valley of the convent and that of el-Leja. At these portals, in the palmy days of pilgrimage, priests were stationed to confess pilgrims on their way up the mountain; and all the old travellers relate that no Jew could pass through them. At this point we saw for the first time the peak of Sinai or Jebel Mûsa on our left, and the higher summit of St. Catharine in the S. W. beyond the deep valley el-Leja. At 9 o'clock we reached the well and tall cypress-tree in the plain or basin, where we rested for a time; the Prior distributing to all a portion of bread. After this allowance, the Arab children who had thus far hung about us, went back. Burckhardt speaks of this well as a stone tank, which receives the winter rains. We un-

1) The old travellers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Tucher, Breydenbach, F. Fabri, Wormbser, and others, relate the same story, almost as if they copied one from another; and make it refer to "serpents, toads, and other poisonous reptiles and vermin." But de Suchem in A. D. 1336—50, heard it of "gnats, wasps, and fleas;" though without any procession or vision; and so powerful was the protection afforded in those days, that although these insects were very troublesome without the walls of the convent, yet if brought within, they died immediately; Reissb. des heil. Landes, p. 840. William of Baldensel (A. D. 1336) professes to have seen them die when thus brought in, with his own eyes.

derstood it at the time to be a well of living water, and such is its appearance, being of very considerable depth and regularly stoned up in the usual form of a deep well. Near by is a rock with many Arabic inscriptions, recording the visits of pilgrims. The lone cypress-tree with its dark foliage is quite an interesting addition to this wild spot.[1]

This little plain is about twelve or thirteen hundred feet above the vallies below, extending quite across the ridge; and from it towards the West a path descends to the convent el-Arba'în in Wady el-Leja. On the right, clusters of rocks and peaks from two to four hundred feet higher than this basin, extend for nearly two miles towards the N. N. W. and terminate in the bold front which overhangs the plain er-Râhah N. of the convent. This is the present Horeb of Christians. On the left, due S. from the well, rises the higher peak of Sinai, or Jebel Mûsa, about seven hundred feet above the basin and nearly a mile distant. A few rods from the well, where the ascent of Sinai begins, is a low rude building containing the chapels of Elijah and Elisha. Here was evidently once a small monastery; and the older travellers speak also of a chapel of the Virgin. In that of Elijah the monks show near the altar a hole just large enough for a man's body, which they say is the cave where the prophet dwelt in Horeb.[2] Tapers were lighted and incense burnt in both these chapels. The ascent

1) In Niebuhr's time there were here two large trees; and the Prefect of the Franciscans in Cairo in 1722, mentions also here, "two cypress-trees and two olive-trees." The latter also speaks of the well as a "collection of water made by the winter snows and rains." The journal of this Prefect is first mentioned by Pococke (I. p. 147. fol.) and was afterwards translated into English and published by Clayton, Bishop of Clogher, in a Letter to the Society of Antiquaries, Lond. 1753. It is also appended to the recent editions of Maundrell's Journey to Jerusalem, etc.

2) 1 Kings xix. 8, 9. The elevation of this building above the convent in the valley below, is given by Schubert at 1400 Paris feet.

hence is steeper, though not difficult. There are steps for a great part of the way, merely rough stones thrown together; and in no part of the ascent of the whole mountain are they hewn, or cut in the rock, as is said by Burckhardt.[1]

Leaving the chapels at half past 9 o'clock, we ascended slowly, not failing to see the track of Muhammed's camel in the rock by the way; and reached the summit of Jebel Mûsa at twenty minutes past ten. Here is a small area of huge rocks, about eighty feet in diameter, highest towards the East, where is a little chapel almost in ruins, formerly divided between the Greeks and Latins; while towards the S. W. about forty feet distant stands a small ruined mosk. The summit and also the body of this part of the mountain are of coarse gray granite.[2] On the rocks are many inscriptions in Arabic, Greek, and Armenian, the work of pilgrims. In the chapel are the names of many travellers; and I found here a pencil note of Rüppell's observations, May 7th, 1831; marking the time $12^h\,15'$; Barom. $21'\,7.''6$; Therm. $13\frac{1}{4}°$ R. or 62° F. At half past ten o'clock my Thermometer stood in the chapel at 60° F.—The height of this peak above the sea, according to the observations of Rüppell, compared with simultaneous ones at Tûr, is 7035 Paris feet; and its elevation above the convent el-Arba'în about 1670 feet.[3] From it the peak of St. Catharine bears S. 44°

1) Page 565.

2) Pococke correctly remarks, that the "north part of Sinai (Jebel Mûsa) is of red granite for above half way up; all the rest being a granite of a yellowish ground, with small black grains in it, and the mountain at a distance appears of two colours;" I. p. 147. fol. This difference of colour is especially striking as seen from the valley el-Leja.

3) Rüppell's Reise in Abyssinien, I. pp. 118, 124. I follow here Rüppell's measurements throughout, because they alone are founded on corresponding observations on the sea-coast at Tûr. Schubert gives the height of Sinai at 6796·4 Paris feet, or 2071 feet above the convent in Wady Shu'eib; Russegger at 7097 Paris feet, or 1982 feet above the same convent.

W. a thousand feet higher; and Râs es-Sŭfsâfeh, the highest among the peaks near the front of Horeb, N. 22° W.[1]

My first and predominant feeling while upon this summit, was that of disappointment. Although from our examination of the plain er-Râhah below, and its correspondence to the scriptural narrative, we had arrived at the general conviction that the people of Israel must have been collected on it to receive the law; yet we still had cherished a lingering hope or feeling, that there might after all be some foundation for the long series of monkish tradition, which for at least fifteen centuries has pointed out the summit on which we now stood, as the spot where the ten commandments were so awfully proclaimed. But Scriptural narrative and monkish tradition are very different things; and while the former has a distinctness and definiteness, which through all our journeyings rendered the Bible our best guide-book, we found the latter not less usually and almost regularly to be but a baseless fabric. In the present case, there is not the slightest reason for supposing that Moses had any thing to do with the summit which now bears his name. It is three miles distant from the plain on which the Israelites must have stood; and hidden from it by the intervening peaks of the modern Horeb. No part of the plain is visible from the summit; nor are the bottoms of the adjacent vallies; nor is any spot to be seen around it, where the people could have been assembled. The only point in which it is not immediately sur-

1) Other bearings from Jebel Mûsa were as follows: Um Lauz, a peak beyond Wady Sebâ'îyeh, N. 40° E. Um 'Alawy, connected with smaller peaks running towards the eastern gulf, N. 73° E. Abu Mas'ûd, west of Wady Wa'rah S. 36° E. Jebel Humr, S. 87° W. Jebel Tînia, or Sŭmr et-Tînia, N. 62° W. Jebel Fureia', north end, N. 23° W. Jebel ed-Deir N. 21° E. Jebel ez-Zebîr, east end, N. 35° W. el-Benât, or el-Jauzeh, N. 45° W. Island of Tîrân, S. 31° E.

rounded by high mountains, is towards the S. E. where it sinks down precipitously to a tract of naked gravelly hills. Here, just at its foot, is the head of a small valley, Wady es-Sebâ'îyeh, running toward the N. E. beyond the Mount of the Cross into Wady esh-Sheikh; and of another not larger, called el-Wa'rah, running S. E. to the Wady Nŭsb of the Gulf of 'Akabah; but both of these together hardly afford a tenth part of the space contained in er-Râhah and Wady esh-Sheikh. In the same direction is seen the route to Shŭrm; and, beyond, a portion of the Gulf of 'Akabah and the little island Tîrân; while more to the right and close at hand is the head of el-Leja among the hills. No other part of the Gulf of 'Akabah is visible; though the mountains beyond it are seen.[1]

Towards the S. W. and W. tower the ridges of St. Catharine and Tînia, cutting off the view of the Gulf of Suez and the whole Western region; so that neither Serbâl on the right, nor the loftier Um Shaumer towards the left, are at all visible from this peak of Sinai.[2] Indeed in almost every respect the view from this point is confined, and is far less extensive and imposing than that from the summit of St. Catharine. Only the table-land on the Mountain of the Cross, is here seen nearer and to better advantage across the narrow valley of Shu'eib. Neither the convent from which we had come, nor that of el-Arba'în, both

1) Brown speaks of having seen the whole length of the Gulf of 'Akabah from Sinai; but this is an impossibility. Travels, chap. XIV. p. 179.

2) Yet Laborde professes to have seen from it Serbâl, Um Shaumer, and the mountains of Africa beyond. It must have been with 'the mind's eye.' Voyage en Arab. Pet. p. 68. Engl. p. 252. A similar exaggerated account is given by Russegger; see Berghaus' Annalen, März 1839, p. 420, seq.—Rüppell correctly remarks: "The prospect from the peak of Sinai is limited in the East, South, and West, by higher mountains; and only towards the North, one looks out over a widely extended landscape;" Reise in Abyssinien, I. p. 118. Burckhardt was prevented by a thick fog from seeing even the nearest mountains; Travels, etc. p. 566.

lying in the deep vallies below, were visible. To add to our disappointment, old 'Aîd, the head-guide, who had been selected expressly in order to tell us the names of the mountains and objects around, proved to know very little about them, and often answered at random. In short, the visit to the summit of Jebel Mûsa, was to me the least satisfactory incident in our whole sojourn at Mount Sinai.

We remained upon the summit nearly two and a half hours. Leaving it at $12\frac{3}{4}$ o'clock, we returned to the cypress-tree and well near the chapel of Elijah. From this point a path leads South of West over the little plain, and descends partly by steps to the convent el-Arba'în in Wady el-Leja. We determined, however, to visit the northern brow of Horeb, which overlooks the plain er-Râhah; and took a route towards the N. N. W. in order to reach it. As we left the well for this purpose at $1\frac{1}{4}$ o'clock, the clouds which had been gathering for some time, threatened to drench us with a shower of rain. The drops began to fall thinly but heavily; and for a while we hoped that Beshârah's entreaties for rain might have been fulfilled; even at the expense of our being counted as prophets by the Arabs, and getting a wet skin for ourselves. But the clouds soon passed away, and the desert remained parched and thirsty as before.

The path was wild and rugged, leading over rocks and winding through ravines among low peaks. In fifteen minutes we came to a small round basin among the hills, with a bed of soil full of shrubs; where also were a holly-hock and hawthorn, and evident traces of an artificial reservoir for water, which was said formerly to have been carried down to the convent. Here stands a small chapel of St. John the Baptist. Not far off are the cells of several anchorites cut in the rock. Twenty minutes further is another larger

basin, surrounded by twelve peaks, and the bottom enclosed by a low wall; showing that it was once tilled as a garden. At 2 o'clock we reached a third basin, still deeper and more romantic, surrounded by a like number of higher peaks, one of which is Râs es-Sŭfsâfeh, the highest in this part of the mountain. A narrow fissure runs out northward from this basin towards the plain, through which the mountain may be ascended. Here a willow and two hawthorns were growing, with many shrubs; and in all this part of the mountains were great quantities of the fragrant plant *Ja'deh*, which the monks call hyssop. Here is a small chapel dedicated to the Virgin of the Zone. Near by we found a pair of horns of the Beden or Ibex, left behind perhaps by some hunter.

While the monks were here employed in lighting tapers and burning incense, we determined to scale the almost inaccessible peak of es-Sŭfsâfeh before us, in order to look out upon the plain, and judge for ourselves as to the adaptedness of this part of the mount to the circumstances of the Scriptural history. This cliff rises some five hundred feet above the basin; and the distance to the summit is more than half a mile. We first attempted to climb the side in a direct course; but found the rock so smooth and precipitous, that after some falls and more exposures, we were obliged to give it up, and clamber upwards along a steep ravine by a more northern and circuitous course. From the head of this ravine, we were able to climb around the face of the northern precipice and reach the top, along the deep hollows worn in the granite by the weather during the lapse of ages, which give to this part, as seen from below, the appearance of architectural ornament.

The extreme difficulty and even danger of the ascent, was well rewarded by the prospect that now

opened before us. The whole plain er-Râhah lay spread out beneath our feet, with the adjacent Wadys and mountains; while Wady esh-Sheikh on the right, and the recess on the left, both connected with, and opening broadly from er-Râhah, presented an area which serves nearly to double that of the plain. Our conviction was strengthened, that here or on some one of the adjacent cliffs was the spot, where the Lord "descended in fire" and proclaimed the law. Here lay the plain where the whole congregation might be assembled; here was the mount that could be approached and touched, if not forbidden; and here the mountain brow, where alone the lightnings and the thick cloud would be visible, and the thunders and the voice of the trump be heard, when the Lord "came down in the sight of all the people upon Mount Sinai." We gave ourselves up to the impressions of the awful scene; and read with a feeling that will never be forgotten, the sublime account of the transaction and the commandments there promulgated, in the original words as recorded by the great Hebrew legislator.[1]

Between es-Sŭfsâfeh and the plain are still some lower peaks, overhanging the latter more directly, which we were desirous to visit; but the time did not permit. Descending therefore to our companions, who were in no hurry, we returned to the second basin above mentioned, and thence at 3^h 45′ took a path more to the right. At 4 o'clock we came to a small church on the western brow of the ridge, dedicated to St. Panteleemon. The chapel of St. Anne mentioned by Pococke and older travellers, we did not see. Hence a long and in some parts steep descent about S. W. brought us at a quarter past 5 o'clock to the convent el-Arba'în, where we were to lodge.

1) Exod. xix. 9—25. xx. 1—21.

This monastery is said to have received its name, el-Arba'în, "the Forty," from the circumstance that the Arabs once took it by surprise, and killed the forty monks who were its inmates. Hence it is called by the older travellers the Convent of the Forty Saints or Martyrs.[1] Tradition has forgotten the time when this event took place; but the story probably refers to the massacre of forty hermits around Sinai near the close of the fourth century.[2] A large plantation of olive-trees extends far above and below the monastery along the valley, which is narrow like that of Shu'eib, but longer and less desert. Just around the buildings is also a garden of other fruit-trees, in which apple and apricot-trees were in blossom; and not far off is a small grove of tall poplars, here cultivated for timber. In this garden too was a rill of water; which however was lost after a few rods. The convent, as such, has been deserted for several centuries; yet two or three of the monks usually reside here for a time every summer; though even this custom had been neglected for the last three years. A family of Jebelîyeh, or serfs, was here to keep the garden. As we entered, the sweet voice of a prattling Arab child struck my ear, and made my heart thrill, as it recalled the thoughts of home.—The elevation of this spot above the sea, was found by Rüppell to be 5366 Paris feet.[3]

A large room, the best in the building, though lighted only by the door, was assigned to us, in which

1) Tucher of Nürnberg relates this story in A. D. 1480; as also Baumgarten in 1507, lib. I. c. 24. These travellers found the convent deserted, as now, except by two or three monks.

2) See further on, under the head of "Sinai in the early Christian ages."

3) Reise in Abyssinien, I. p. 124. From a comparison with Schubert's measurements, it would appear, that el-Arba'în lies about 400 Paris feet higher than the other convent. This difference, however, seems to me to be too great.

our beds were already spread on a layer of fragrant herbs. A fire was lighted in a corner; and we found it quite comfortable, although the thermometer stood at 65° F. Indeed an Arab has no idea of passing a night without fire at any season. The Superior and his monks occupied a room in another part of the building. The good father spent the evening in our apartment, and was very social and communicative. He had borne the walk of to-day so well, that he was determined to accompany us to-morrow to the summit of St. Catharine. We had here a curious instance of the respect in which he is held by his Arab serfs. He had pulled off his shoes and was sitting with bare feet, (for he like the other monks wore no stockings,) when the old guide 'Aîd came in to bid good night, and perceiving his situation suddenly kneeled down and kissed his toe. Indeed, it seemed to be quite an occasion of festivity with these Arabs, to meet the patriarchal old man so far abroad out of the convent walls.

Tuesday, March 27th. We started from our fragrant couch at early dawn, in order to set off in good season for the mountain. But here, as in so many other cases where aught was depending on Arabs, we found it impossible to 'keep the word of promise' to our hopes. Old 'Aîd, the guide, gave out at starting; and his place had to be supplied by a youth, Sâlim, who overtook us on the way, and proved a better guide than the old man. We thought too we perceived some slight symptoms of abatement in the good Superior's zeal for undertaking the more arduous task which awaited us to-day; and at our suggestion he concluded to remain and wait our return.

At length we issued from the garden at ten minutes past 6 o'clock, and proceeded S. W. by S. up a ravine which comes down from the side of St. Catharine, called Shŭk Mûsa, 'Cleft of Moses,' from a deep rent

in the mountain at its head. At ten minutes from the convent and before beginning to ascend, the path passes between two large rocks, both having Sinaite inscriptions, and one of them quite covered with them. These Burckhardt did not see; for he says expressly, that there are none in el-Leja higher up than the rock of Moses, which lies at some distance below el-Arba'în. We found none afterwards. The ravine soon becomes narrow and precipitous, and the way exceedingly difficult; the path leading over stones and rocks in their natural state, which have never been removed nor laid more evenly. Indeed, we could not discover all day the slightest trace that any path had ever existed here with steps, or laid stones, like that which leads up Jebel Mûsa. At $7^h\ 25'$ we reached the fine cold spring called Ma'yan esh-Shunnâr, 'Partridge-fountain;' it having been discovered, as they say, by the fluttering of one of these birds, when the monks were bringing down the bones of St. Catharine from the mountain. It is on a shelf of rock under the left-hand precipice, about a foot in diameter and depth, with fine cold water, never increasing nor diminishing. The water percolates through some fissure in the rock into a natural reservoir below, where it is found in considerable quantity. Several hawthorn-trees (Arab. *Za'rûr*) were growing in the vicinity. Directly above this spot is the deep cleft properly called Shŭk Mûsa. The path now turns S. W. by W. passing up a very steep ascent for a time; and then across loose debris to the top of the main ridge, which runs up towards the summit, here bearing S. S. W. This ridge we reached about $8\frac{1}{2}$ o'clock; and here the view opened towards the West over the deep vallies below.

We now kept along the western side of the ridge, beneath the brow, where the mountain-side slopes rapidly down into the depths below, and is covered

like the Wadys with tufts of herbs and shrubs, furnishing abundant pasturage for the flocks of the Bedawîn, as well as for the troops of gazelles and mountain goats (Beden) which haunt these wild retreats. The *Ja'deh* or hyssop was here in great plenty; and especially the fragrant *Za'ter*, a species of thyme, *Thymus serpyllum* of Forskål.[1] This vegetation extends quite up to the foot of the highest peak, an immense pile of huge blocks of coarse red granite thrown promiscuously together. Climbing this mass of rocks with difficulty on the S. side, we reached the summit at a quarter past 9 o'clock. This consists of two small knolls or elevations of the rocks; one towards the E. on which stands a rude chapel; the other towards the W. a few feet higher. According to the latest observations of Rüppell, similar to those on Sinai, the height of this mountain is 8063 Paris feet above the sea, or about 2700 feet above the convent el-Arba'în.[2] Its elevation therefore is 1030 feet greater than that of Jebel Mûsa. The sky was perfectly clear, and the air cool. A cold N. W. wind swept fitfully over the summit. The thermometer stood in the shade at 43° F. In the sun it rose at first to 52°; but as the gust grew strong, it sunk to 48° F.

During the ascent, I had found myself unwell; and reached the top in a state of great exhaustion. While my companion was busy in cross-examining the guides as to the mountains and places in view, I sought out a sunny and sheltered spot among the rocks, where I lay down and slept sweetly for half an hour, and awoke greatly refreshed.

The chief motive which led us to ascend Jebel Kâtherîn, was the hope of obtaining a more distinct and

1) Flora Aeg. Ar. p. 107.

2) Reise in Abyssinien, I. pp. 121, 124. Russegger gives the height of St. Catharine at 8168 Paris feet. Schubert did not ascend this mountain.

extensive view of the region of Sinai and of the peninsula. Nor were our hopes disappointed. The mountain indeed has little of historical interest; there being not the slightest probability that it had any connection with the giving of the law to Israel. But the prospect is wide and magnificent, comprehending almost the whole peninsula. The chief interruption of the view is by Um Shaumer, bearing S. 20° W., a sharp granite peak, said by Burckhardt to be inaccessible, and perhaps the highest point in the peninsula. Jebel Mûsa, lying N. 44° E. was far below us, and appeared only as an inferior peak. Towards the S. E. the large Wady Nŭsb was seen (S. 62° E.) running towards the eastern Gulf; of which also a much larger portion was visible around Shŭrm, than from Jebel Mûsa, with the island Tîrân bearing S. 35° E. The northern part of this Gulf could not be traced; though the Arabian mountains beyond it were very distinct. A mountain which our guides called Râs Muhammed, bore S. 9° E. in the general direction of the cape of that name; around which, and to the right of Um Shaumer, almost the whole course of the Gulf of Suez was visible, with the African mountains beyond,—a silvery thread of waters stretching far up through a naked desert. Two of these African mountains were very distinct; one, ez-Zeit, bearing S. 56° W. and the other the cone of Jebel Ghârib, bearing S. 77° W. called by our guides the mountain of the 'Abâbideh. Between the western Gulf and the mountains of Sinai, the great plain el-Kâ'a was spread out, extending beyond Tûr; and N. of that place along the shore was seen the low range of limestone mountains, among which lies the sounding hill Nakûs. Nearer at hand were many dark peaks; and among them that of Madsûs, just beyond the gardens of Bŭghâbigh, bearing N. 78° W. and a peak of Jebel Haweit, N. 45° W. Near this

last rises Wady Kibrîn, which runs off to Wady Hibrân. More distant in the same direction rose the rugged cliffs of Serbâl, lying between N. 57° W. and N. 70° W. while farther to the right were seen Sarbût el-Jemel, el-Benât, and ez-Zebîr. In the North, the great sandy plain er-Ramleh, was seen stretching far along the base of the high level ridge of et-Tîh; and we were shown the point where this mountain separates into two parallel ridges, bearing from us about North. Towards the eastern quarter, between us and the whole length of the Gulf of 'Akabah, the eye wandered over a sea of mountains, black, abrupt, naked, weather-worn peaks,—a fitting spot where the very genius of desolation might erect his horrid throne.—Below us, just at the western foot of St. Catharine, a valley called Um Kŭrâf was seen running northwards; while another, ez-Zuweitîn, having a succession of gardens, passes down from the right near the base of el-Humr, to join it. The Wady thus formed is called Tŭlâh, and runs down between the mountains of Seru N. 15° W. and Tînia N. 26° W. apparently joining the Rŭdhwâh and so flowing off to Wady Solâf. Jebel el-Humr was below us in the direction N. 3° E. Jebel Tînia was also called by our guides Sŭmr et-Tînia.[1]

We found that our guides of to-day and yesterday, both old and young, knew very little of distant mountains and objects; while they were familiarly acquainted with those near at hand. It was only after

1) Other bearings from Jebel Kâtherîn were the following: Jebel ed-Deir, N. 35° E. Um Lauz, N. 41° E. Um 'Alawy, N. 62° E. el-Habeshy, further distant, N. 66° E. Urk ez-Zŭgherah, a long ridge beyond Um 'Alawy, north end, N. 87° E; south end, S. 80° E. Abu Mas'ûd, between the Wadys Nŭsb and Wa'rah, S. 30° E. Zebîr, another peak of St. Catharine near at hand, S. 12° E. Muheirid el-Kunâs, S. 6° E. and el-'Ödha, S. 10° W. both connected with Um Shaumer. Fera' Suweid, S. 25° W. and es-Sîk, S. 77° W.; dark peaks nearer St. Catharine. el-Benât, N. 45° W. ez-Zebîr, west end, N. 40° W; east end, N. 31° W.

long and repeated examination and cross-questioning, that my companion could be sure of any correctness as to more remote objects; since at first they often gave answers at random, which they afterwards modified or took back. The young man Sâlim was the most intelligent of the whole. After all our pains, many of the names we obtained were different from those which Burckhardt heard; although his guides apparently were of the same tribe.—A tolerably certain method of finding any place at will, is to ask an Arab if its name exists. He is sure to answer Yes; and to point out some spot at hand as its location. In this way, I have no doubt, we might have found Rephidim, or Marah, or any other place we chose; and such is probably the mode in which many ancient names and places have been discovered by travellers, which no one has ever been able to find after them.[1]

Of the two, the ascent of St. Catharine is much to be preferred to that of Jebel Mûsa. The view is far more extensive and almost unlimited, affording to the spectator a good general idea of the whole peninsula; of which he learns little or nothing from Sinai. The ascent indeed is longer and more laborious; but it also repays the toil in a far higher degree. Our whole visit here to-day was one of satisfaction and gratification; not, as yesterday, of disappointment. The time generally necessary for the ascent of Jebel Mûsa may be estimated at an hour and a half; and for St. Catharine from two and a half to three hours. We were longer on the way.

After remaining for two and a half hours on the summit, we left at $11\frac{3}{4}$ o'clock, and reached the convent of the Forty Martyrs at a quarter past one. Here we found the Superior still waiting in order to conduct us

1) So, for example, Marah, Capernaum, Bethsaida, Chorazin, etc.

around through Wady el-Leja to the convent, and show us the holy places on the way. The distance is reckoned an hour and a half, and may be thus divided: forty minutes to the mouth of el-Leja; twenty-five minutes along the front of Horeb to Wady Shu'eib; and twenty-five minutes to the convent in that valley. This is a sort of household path for the monks, which they have travelled for centuries; and along which, as a matter of convenience, they have gathered together all the holy places they know of in connection with Sinai.

After stopping about half an hour at el-Arba'în, we proceeded slowly down the valley, without seeing the chapel and grot of St. Onuphrius, which are said by Pococke to be near the North end of the olive plantation. In about twenty minutes we came to the rock which they say Moses smote, and the water gushed out. As to this rock, one is at a loss, whether most to admire the credulity of the monks, or the legendary and discrepant reports of travellers. It is hardly necessary to remark, that there is not the slightest ground for assuming any connection between this narrow valley and Rephidim; but on the contrary, there is every thing against it. The rock itself is a large isolated cube of coarse red granite, which has fallen from the eastern mountain. Down its front, in an oblique line from top to bottom, runs a seam of a finer texture, from twelve to fifteen inches broad, having in it several irregular horizontal crevices, somewhat resembling the human mouth, one above another. These are said to be twelve in number; but I could make out only ten. The seam extends quite through the rock, and is visible on the opposite or back side; where also are similar crevices, though not so large. The holes did not appear to us to be artificial, as is usually reported; although we examined them particularly. They belong rather

to the nature of the seam; yet it is possible that some of them may have been enlarged by artificial means. The rock is a singular one; and doubtless was selected, on account of this very singularity, as the scene of the miracle.

Below this point are many Sinaite inscriptions along the rocks in the valley. Having Burckhardt's Travels with us, we compared some of his copies with the originals, and found them tolerably exact.[1] Where Wady el-Leja opens out into the recess that runs in West from the plain er-Râhah, there is on the left a garden; and further down on the right another, having a great number and variety of fruit-trees. This Burckhardt says is called, by way of eminence, el-Bostân, 'the Garden;' a name which we did not hear. These gardens mark the sites of former convents, now fallen to ruin; that towards the West once bearing the name of St. Peter and St. Paul, and the other that of St. Mary of David. Over the mountain towards the West, among the gardens which we saw from St. Catharine in Wady Zuweitîn or Tŭlâh, was formerly another small convent of St. Cosmas and Damian, visited by Pococke;[2] but of which we heard nothing. Over-against the mouth of el-Leja, in the northern part of the recess, we, like all travellers, were pointed to the spot where the earth opened and swallowed up Korah, Dathan and Abiram, with their followers; the good fathers of the monastery, as a matter of convenience, having transferred the scene of this event from the vicinity of Kadesh to this place.[3]

1) Not so Pococke's copies, in which there is hardly a trace of resemblance; nor are those of Niebuhr much better.

2) Travels, I. pp. 149, 153. fol. In a cell or perhaps convent in this valley, the Abbot Johannes Climacus, known as a writer, lived for forty years, in the latter part of the sixth century. The name of the valley in Greek was then Θωλά, Thola. See in Max. Biblioth. vet. Patrum, Tom. X. p. 386, seq. Acta Sanctorum, Jan. Tom. I. p. 963, col. 1.

3) Num. c. xvi. compared with Num. xiii. 26.

Farther eastward in front of Horeb, a hole in a granite rock level with the sand, is shown as the mould in which Aaron cast the golden calf. Burckhardt has exaggerated this story a little at the expense of the monks, making them show the head of the golden calf itself transmuted into stone. The small elevation or point between the channels of the Wadys Sheikh and Shu'eib, they also show as the place where Aaron was standing, when the people danced around the golden calf in the plain, and Moses descended behind him from the mountain. Just at the foot of the adjacent corner of Horeb is a rock, marking the spot where Moses threw down and broke the tables of the law. These the monks and Arabs both believe are still buried there unto this day; and the Arabs often dig around the spot in the hope of finding them.[1]

As we advanced up the valley towards the convent, we were followed by quite a throng of Arab women and children of the Jebelîyeh, begging various articles of the Superior, and kissing his hand and the hem of his garment, as if rejoiced to meet him without the walls. The old man dealt kindly with them, and distributed his little gifts with patriarchal dignity and grace. We reached the convent at $4\frac{3}{4}$ o'clock, exceedingly fatigued, and glad to find a quiet home. The Ikonomos undertook to pay our Arab attendants in barley, charging us at the rate of seven Piastres a day for each guide. As the poor fellows would probably get much less than this in their barley, we sent them a trifling *Bakhshîsh* or present in money, with which they went away delighted.

Wednesday, March 28th. We had fixed on Thursday as the day of our departure; and were to-day of course very busy with our journals and letters. Be-

1) Burckhardt has transferred this legend to the summit of Sinai; p. 567.

shârah arrived in the afternoon, saying that the camels would be here at night or in the morning; and that Tuweileb would go with us to 'Akabah, according to the contract.

The good Superior, Father Neophytus, continued his attentions, although it was a day on which he was peculiarly occupied in the duties of the convent. All the morning until 12 o'clock the monks were at prayers; and the same was to be the case at night from ten o'clock until two; this being a particular regulation of the convent during certain days in Lent. After dinner we were invited to visit the Superior at his room. We found him in the midst of a little establishment by himself,—a small court, a work-bench with a few joiner's tools, a sitting-room, kitchen, and two or three small chambers. His sitting-room, like the one we occupied, was furnished with low divans and carpets, rather old and worn; in a recess stood a low desk and trunk; and on the opposite side were a closet and cupboard. Several Greek books, mostly devotional, were scattered on a shelf and in the window. The room was very small. Oranges from Egypt sliced with sugar were presented to us; and also coffee, prepared by the young deacon.

As this was to be our last day at the convent, the Superior made us several presents as memorials of our visit to Sinai, remarkable rather for the value which he set upon them, than for any intrinsic worth. An engraving of the convent and mountain was curious as a specimen of perspective drawing (or rather non-perspective) a century ago; and this and some beautiful white corals from Tûr, and a skin of sweetmeats for our journey, were the chief articles. The latter contained a mixture of dates and almonds, highly prized, and usually prepared (he said) only as presents to Pashas and persons of rank.

In accordance with a former promise, the old man likewise put into our hands a small quantity of the manna of the peninsula, famous at least as being the successor of the Israelitish manna, though not to be regarded as the same substance. According to his account, it is not produced every year; sometimes only after five or six years; and the quantity in general has greatly diminished. It is found in the form of shining drops on the twigs and branches (not upon the leaves) of the Tŭrfa, *Tamarix Gallica mannifera* of Ehrenberg, from which it exudes in consequence of the puncture of an insect of the coccus kind, *Coccus manniparus* of the same naturalist.[1] What falls upon the sand is said not to be gathered. It has the appearance of gum, is of a sweetish taste, and melts when exposed to the sun or to a fire. The Arabs consider it as a great delicacy, and the pilgrims prize it highly; especially those from Russia, who pay a high price for it. The Superior had now but a small quantity, which he was keeping against an expected visit from the Russian consul-general in Egypt. Indeed, so scarce had it become of late years, as to bear a price of twenty or twenty-five Piastres the pound.

Of the manna of the Old Testament, it is said: "When the dew that lay was gone up, behold, upon the face of the desert a small round thing, small as the hoar-frost on the ground;—and it was like coriander-seed, white; and the taste of it was like wafers with honey.[2]—And the people gathered it, and ground it in mills, and beat it in a mortar, or baked it in pans, and made cakes of it; and the taste of it was as the taste of fresh oil. And when the dew fell upon the camp in the night, the manna fell upon it."[3] Of all these characteristics not one is applicable to the pre-

1) See Note XIV, at the end of the volume.

2) Ex. xvi. 14, 31.

3) Num. xi. 8, 9.

sent manna. And even could it be shown to be the same, still a supply of it in sufficient abundance for the daily consumption of two millions of people, would have been no less a miracle.

The Superior also procured for me a pair of the sandals usually worn by the Bedawîn of the peninsula, made of the thick skin of a fish which is caught in the Red Sea. The Arabs around the convent called it *Tûn;* but could give no further account of it, than that it is a large fish, and is eaten. It is a species of Halicore, named by Ehrenberg *Halicora Hemprichii.*[1] The skin is clumsy and coarse, and might answer very well for the external covering of the tabernacle, which was constructed at Sinai;[2] but would seem hardly a fitting material for the ornamental sandals belonging to the costly attire of high-born dames in Palestine, described by the prophet Ezekiel.[3]

It will not be supposed that all these things were presented to us without the hope of a recompense. Indeed, some of them, as the manna and sandals, were a matter of purchase on our part; and as to the rest, we knew very well that a *present* of money was expected to an amount greater than the value of the articles.

Thursday, March 29th, Forenoon. This being the day appointed for our setting off, we held ourselves ready at an early hour; but it was nearly eleven o'clock before Tuweileb arrived with the camels. After a long talk in the garden in presence of the Superior, it was agreed, that as Beshârah had now no camel, Tuweileb should take his place in the contract,

1) See Ehrenberg's Symbola Phys. *Mammalia*, Decas II. Text fol. K. Also ibid. *Zootomica*, Dec. I. Tab. 3, 4, 5. According to this writer, the Arabs on the coast call this fish *Naka* and *Lottûm.*

2) Ex. xxv. 5. xxvi. 14. al. The Hebrew word is תַּחַשׁ, usually translated *badger;* though, as it would seem, without sufficient reason in this case.

3) Ezek. xvi. 10.

and conduct us to 'Akabah. Three of the men also, who had come with us from Cairo, concluded to go no further; and we found that we were to have an entirely new set of camels, which proved to be better than the former ones. The 190 Piastres to be paid for each camel from Cairo to 'Akabah, the Arabs divided among themselves as follows: 40 from Cairo to Suez; 80 from Suez to the convent; and 70 from the convent to 'Akabah. Yet there would seem to be no regular price for any of these routes; for an English traveller the year before had paid at the rate of 40 Piastres to Suez; 100 thence to the convent; and 60 from the convent to 'Akabah.

We parted from Beshârah with regret. He had served us faithfully and well; was ever active and vigilant; and had always manifested some independence and self-respect. We made him a small additional present on account of the camel he had lost in our service; and promised to put him into our book, if we made one. As he said he should return immediately to Cairo, we entrusted letters to his care, with a promise of reward on their being delivered; but it was many months ere they reached the places of their destination.

Tuweileb was an older man than Beshârah; he had travelled more, was better acquainted with the routes and with the country in general, and knew more of the habits and usual wants of Frank travellers. He was, however, less active; was apparently growing old; and had seen his best days. Yet we found him throughout faithful, trust-worthy, and kind; although for a great part of the time he was with us, he was labouring under ill-health. We cheerfully add our testimony in his favour, to that of former travellers.

Our residence of five and a half days in the convent turned out to be rather an expensive one. The com-

munity provided us with various articles which we needed on our further journey; as bread, dried fruits, almonds, candles, and the like; but would set no price upon them. These we could estimate; but to do the proper thing' as to our lodgings and entertainment, and a fit 'remembrance' to all the inmates, from the Superior down to the servants, was a matter requiring more nicety and tact. With the aid of our Komeh, who was skilled in these matters, we made out to get through the business to the apparent satisfaction of all parties, except the good Superior. He had exerted himself perhaps unusually to pay us friendly attentions; and possibly he expected from us too much in return. His manner was still and resigned; but his countenance was fallen and beclouded. A civil speech, however, with the dextrous application of a couple of dollars in addition, wrought a sudden change; the cloud cleared away, his eyes lighted up, and his whole countenance assumed an expression of more than wonted benignity.

During our journey to the convent, it had been a part of our plan, or rather our wish, to make an excursion to Jebel Serbâl, in order to examine for ourselves, whether this mountain has any claim to be regarded as the Sinai of Scripture; as Burckhardt suggests was perhaps anciently the case.[1] But after we reached the convent, and perceived the adaptedness of that region to the circumstances of the historical narrative, this wish became less strong; and afterwards the want of time, and the information given us by Sheikh Husein and Tuweileb respecting the district of Serbâl, led us to abandon the idea of visiting it. Tuweileb had spent several weeks around the mountain the preceding season; and both assured us, that nowhere in the vicinity of it, is there any valley or open spot like the plain er-

1) Travels, etc. page 609.

Râhah, or even like Wady esh-Sheikh. From the N. E. side of Serbâl the Wadys run down to Wady Feirân; but they are comparatively narrow and rocky. On its S. W. side, still narrower Wadys run out to the great plain el-Kâ'a, at the distance of an hour or more. There is water in plenty on both sides of the mountain; and a path, laid in part with steps, leads along the eastern and southern sides to the summit. The route from the convent to Serbâl goes down Wady Sheikh; or else by the Nŭkb Hâwy and down Wady Solâf. The distance from the convent to Feirân near the foot of Serbâl by this latter route, is nine or ten hours. The mountain itself is a long ridge with five principal peaks. Burckhardt ascended the easternmost, which with the one adjacent he supposed to be the highest. Rüppell in 1831 ascended the second from the West, by a path along the northern side of the mountain; he regards this as the highest, and took observations upon it to ascertain its elevation. From these its height was found to be 6342 Paris feet above the sea; or 976 feet higher than the convent el-Arba'în.[1] Hence it turns out that Serbâl is more than 1700 feet lower than St. Catharine; although as it rises alone and magnificently from the midst of far inferior ridges, its *apparent* elevation is not much less than that of the former mountain.

On both the summits ascended by Burckhardt and Rüppell, these travellers found inscriptions in the usual unknown character; and also in the vallies leading to the mountain. In a Wady on the S. W. side of the ridge, near its eastern end, are the remains of a large and well-built convent, from which a path is said to lead up the mountain. These circumstances would seem to indicate, that Serbâl was anciently a place of

1) Rüppell's Reise in Abyssinien, I. pp. 128, 124.

pilgrimage; but whether because it was perhaps regarded as the Sinai of Scripture, or more probably only in connection with this convent and the episcopal see of Faran, it is now difficult to determine.[1]

The weather during our residence at the convent, as indeed during all our journey through the peninsula, was very fine; with the slight exception already mentioned on Jebel Mûsa. At the convent, the thermometer ranged only between 47° and 67° F. But the winter nights are said here to be cold; water freezes as late as February; and snow often falls upon the mountains. But the air is exceedingly pure, and the climate healthy; as is testified by the great age and vigour of many of the monks. And if in general few of the Arabs attain to so great an age, the cause is doubtless to be sought in the scantiness of their fare and their exposure to privations; and not in any injurious influence of the climate.

In closing this Section of our Journal, I throw together here all that remains to be said upon the Sinai of the Old Testament, Sinai in the early Christian ages, the present Convent, and also upon the Arab inhabitants of the Peninsula.

SINAI OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

We came to Sinai with some incredulity, wishing to investigate the point, whether there was any probable ground beyond monkish tradition, for fixing upon the present supposed site. The details of the preceding pages will have made the reader acquainted with

1) See generally, Burckhardt's Travels, etc. p. 606, seq. Rüppell's Reise in Abyssinien, I. p. 125, seq.

the grounds which led us to the conviction, that the plain er-Râhah above described is the probable spot where the congregation of Israel were assembled, and that the mountain impending over it, the present Horeb, was the scene of the awful phenomena in which the law was given. We were satisfied after much examination and inquiry, that in no other quarter of the peninsula, and certainly not around any of the higher peaks, is there a spot corresponding in any degree so fully as this to the historical account, and to the circumstances of the case. I have entered above more fully into the details, because former travellers have touched upon this point so slightly; and because, even to the present day, it is a current opinion among scholars, that no open space exists among these mountains.[1] We too were surprised as well as gratified to find here, in the inmost recesses of these dark granite cliffs, this fine plain spread out before the mountain; and I know not when I have felt a thrill of stronger emotion, than when in first crossing the plain, the dark precipices of Horeb rising in solemn grandeur before us, we became aware of the entire adaptedness of the scene to the purposes for which it was chosen by the great Hebrew legislator. Moses doubtless, during the forty years in which he kept the flocks of Jethro, had often wandered over these mountains, and was well acquainted with their vallies and deep recesses, like the Arabs of the present day. At any rate, he knew and had visited the spot to which he was to conduct his people,[2]—this *adytum* in the midst of the great circular granite region, with only a single feasible entrance; a secret holy place, shut out from the world amid lone and desolate mountains.

The Israelites probably approached Sinai by the

1) Compare Winer's Bibl. Realwörterb. art. *Sinai*, II. p. 550.

2) Ex. iii. 1.

Wady Feirân; and entered the plain through the upper part of Wady esh-Sheikh. At least there is no conceivable reason, why they should have passed to the South of Mount Serbâl, and taken the circuitous and more difficult route near Tûr, and through the Wady Hibrân, as has often been supposed. From the desert of Sin, which I have above taken to be the great plain along the shore, to Sinai, three stations are marked, Dophkah, Alush, and Rephidim,[1] equivalent to four days' journey for such a host; and this accords well with the distance of twenty-six to twenty-eight hours as usually travelled by camels.[2]

The names of Horeb and Sinai are used interchangeably in the Pentateuch, to denote the mountain on which the law was given; and this circumstance has naturally occasioned difficulty to commentators. The most obvious and common explanation is, to regard one (Sinai) as the general name for the whole cluster, and the other (Horeb) as designating a particular mountain; much as the same names are employed by the Christians at the present day.[3] So too the Arabs now apply the name Jebel et-Tûr to the whole central granite region; while the different mountains of which it is composed, are called Jebel Kâtherîn, Jebel Mûsa, etc. On looking at the subject during our sojourn at the convent, I was led to a similar conclusion; applying the names however differently, and regarding Horeb as the general name, and Sinai as the particular one. Two circumstances seem to favour this conclusion. One is, that before and during the march of the Israelites from Egypt to the place where the law was given, the latter is called only

1) Num. xxxiii. 12—15.
2) Burckhardt's Travels, etc. pp. 598, 602, 618, 621, 622.
3) Gesenius' Notes to Burckhardt's Travels, p. 1078. Rosenmüller Bibl. Geogr. III. p. 115. Winer's Bibl. Realwörterb. art. *Horeb*.

Horeb; just as the Arabs now speak of going from Cairo to Jebel et-Tûr; while during the sojourn of the Hebrews before the mountain, it is spoken of (with one exception) only as Sinai; and after their departure, it is again referred to exclusively as Horeb. The other and main fact is, that while the Israelites were encamped at Rephidim, Moses was commanded to go on with the elders before the people, and smite the rock in Horeb, in order to obtain water for the camp. The necessary inference is, that some part of Horeb was near to Rephidim; while Sinai was yet a day's march distant.[1]

The position of Rephidim itself can be conjectured only from the same passages to which reference has just been made. If we admit Horeb to be the general name for the central cluster of mountains, and that the Israelites approached it by the great Wady esh-Sheikh, then Rephidim must have been at some point in this valley not far from the skirts of Horeb, and about a day's march from the particular mountain of Sinai. Such a point exists at the place where Wady esh-Sheikh issues from the high central granite cliffs. We did not visit the spot; but Burckhardt in ascending Wady esh-Sheikh towards the convent, thus describes it: "We now approached the central summits of Mount Sinai, which we had had in view for several days. Abrupt cliffs of granite from six to eight hundred feet in height, whose surface is blackened by the sun, surround the avenues leading to the elevated platform to which the name of Sinai is specifically applied. These cliffs enclose the holy mountain on three sides, leaving the E. and N. E. sides only, towards the Gulf of 'Akabah, more open to the view. We entered these cliffs by a narrow defile about forty feet in

1) Ex. xvii. 1, 5, 6. xix. 1, 2. See also Note XV, at the end of the volume.

breadth, with perpendicular granite rocks on both sides. [In this defile is the Seat of Moses, so called.] Beyond it the valley opens, the mountains on both sides diverge, and the Wady esh-Sheikh continues in a S. direction with a slight ascent."[1] The entrance to this defile from the West, is five hours distant from the point where Wady esh-Sheikh issues from the plain er-Râhah. This would correspond well to the distance of Rephidim; and then these blackened cliffs would be the outskirts of Horeb. I am not aware of any objection to this view, except one which applies equally to every part of Wady esh-Sheikh and the adjacent district, viz. that neither here nor in all this tract is there at the present day any special want of water. There is a well near the defile itself; and an hour above it a spring called Abu Suweirah, which we visited; besides others in various quarters. This difficulty I am not able to solve; except by supposing, that as the people appear to have remained for some time at Rephidim, the small supply of water was speedily exhausted.

It was during the encampment at Rephidim that Amalek came and fought with Israel.[2] It is not necessary here to look for a wide open plain, on which the battle might take place according to the rules of modern warfare. The Amalekites were a nomadic tribe, making an irregular attack upon a multitude probably not better trained than themselves; and for such a conflict the low hills and open country around this part of Wady esh-Sheikh would afford ample space.

After the departure of the Israelites from Mount Sinai, there is no account, either in Scripture or elsewhere, of its having been visited by any Jew; except by the prophet Elijah, when he fled from the machina-

1) Travels, etc, p. 488.

2) Ex. xvii. 8.

tions of Jezebel.[1] This is the more remarkable; as this region had been the seat of the revelation of their law, to which they clung so tenaciously; and because from the splendour and terrors of that scene, the inspired Hebrew poets were wont to draw their sublimest images.

SINAI IN THE EARLY CHRISTIAN AGES.

No very distinct notices of Sinai appear in the earliest Christian writers. Dionysius of Alexandria, about A. D. 250, mentions, that these mountains were the refuge of Egyptian Christians in times of persecution; where they were sometimes seized as slaves by the Saracens or Arabs.[2] The legend of St. Catharine of Alexandria, who first fled to Sinai, and whose body after martyrdom at Alexandria is said to have been carried by angels to the summit of the mountain that now bears her name, is laid in the beginning of the next or fourth century, about A. D. 307.[3] In the third and fourth centuries also, ascetics and anchorites took their rise in Egypt; and were soon followed by communities of monks in desert places. There is no mention of the first introduction of these holy persons and communities into the peninsula of Mount Sinai; but it is natural to suppose, that a region so well adapted to their purposes by its loneliness and desolation, would not be overlooked by them, nor long remain untenanted.

Accordingly we find, from various writings preserved among the remains of monastic piety and learning, that during the fourth century this mountain was already the seat of many anchorites; who, although residing in separate cells, had regular intercourse with each other, and gathered in small communities around the more distinguished ascetics and

1) 1 Kings xix. 3—8.
2) Euseb. Hist. Ecc. VI. 42.
3) Baronius Annal. A. D. 307. XXXIII.

teachers. The earliest of these fathers of whom I find mention at Sinai, was the Abbot Silvanus, an Egyptian anchorite, who retired for some years to this mountain apparently about A. D. 365; and went afterwards to Gerar, where he became the head of a large community of ascetics.[1] At Sinai he had a garden which he tilled and watered; and although he was the Superior of several anchorites, yet he is said to have lived alone with only his disciple Zacharias.[2]

A fuller notice of Sinai about the same period, is found in the little tract of Ammonius, a monk of Canopus in Egypt; who, after visiting the holy places in Palestine, returned by way of Mount Sinai, in company with other Christians who made the same pilgrimage. They reached Sinai in eighteen days from Jerusalem by way of the desert. This visit appears to have taken place in or about A. D. 373.[3] The pilgrim found many anchorites living here under a Superior named Doulas, a man of uncommon piety and meekness. They subsisted only on dates, berries, and other like fruits, without wine, or oil, or even bread. Yet for the sake of strangers and guests, a few loaves were kept by the Superior. They passed the whole week in the silence and solitude of their cells, until the evening of Saturday; when they assembled in the church and continued all night together in prayer. In the morning of the Lord's day they received the sacrament, and then returned to their cells.

A few days after the arrival of Ammon, the Saracens, whose chief had lately died, made an attack

1) Tillemont Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire Ecclesiast. X. p. 448, seq. Cotelier Ecclesiae Graec. Mon. I. p. 563, seq.

2) Tillemont l. c. p. 451. Cotelier l. c. p. 680.

3) This tract of Ammonius is found in the work of Combefis, *Illustrium Christi Martyrum lecti Triumphi*, Paris 1660. 8vo. p. 88, seq. A very exact abstract of it is given by Tillemont, Mémoires pour servir à l'Hist. Ecc. VII. p. 573, seq. The date given in the text is that assigned by Tillemont, l. c. p. 782, seq.

upon these holy men. Doulas and those with him retired into a tower; but all who could not reach this place of safety, were killed. The Saracens attacked the tower, and were near to take it; when, according to Ammonius, the top of the mountain appeared all in flame, and frightened the barbarians from their purpose. They fled; and the fathers descended to seek and bury the slain. They found thirty-eight corpses; twelve of which were in the monastery Gethrabbi,[1] and others in Chobar and Codar. Two hermits, Isaiah and Sabbas, were found still alive, though mortally wounded; making up in all the number of forty killed.[2] At the same time, a similar massacre of Christian anchorites took place at Raithou, situated on the coast of the Red Sea, two days' distance from Sinai. This place was regarded as the Elim of the Scriptures; and corresponds to the modern Tûr.[3]

Somewhat more definite and equally mournful, is the narrative of Nilus; who himself resided many years at Sinai from about A. D. 390 onwards, and was present at a second massacre of the ascetics during a similar incursion of the Saracens.[4] He relates, that

1) Nilus writes this name *Bethrambe;* Nili Opera quaed. p. 89. Is the Chobar (Χοβάρ) in the text perhaps a corruption for *Horeb?*

2) The Greeks and Latins solemnize the 14th of January as the day on which these martyrs were killed; see Acta Sanctorum, Jan. Tom. I. p. 961. Tillemont, l. c. VII. p. 573.—It was doubtless from these *forty* martyrs, that the convent el-Arba'în, 'the Forty,' received its name. Not improbably it may have been the Gethrabbi of the text. Comp. Quaresmius Elucid. Terr. Sanct. II. p. 996.

3) Raithou (Ραϊθοῦ) is also mentioned by Cosmas Indicopleustes, (about A. D. 535,) as the probable site of Elim; Topogr. Christ. in Montfaucon's Coll. nov. Patrum, II. p. 195. The place occupied by the convent near Tûr is still called *Raithu* by the Greeks; Rüppell's Reisen in Nubien, etc. p. 181. Sicard in Nouv. Mem. des Miss. dans le Levant, 1715. Tom. I. p. 20.

4) Nilus himself wrote an account of this massacre in Greek; see *Nili Opera quaedam, ed. P. Possino*, Gr. et Lat. Paris, 1639. The Latin version is also printed in the Acta Sanctorum, Jan. Tom. I. p. 953, seq. See too a very complete summary of this tract of Nilus, in Tillemont Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire Eccl. Tom. XIV. p. 189, seq.

these holy men had fixed their cells upon the mountain at the distance of a mile or more from each other, in order to avoid mutual interruption during the week; although they occasionally visited each other. On the eve of the Lord's day they descended to the holy place of the Bush, where was a church and apparently a convent; or at least a place where stores were laid up for the winter. Here they spent the night at prayers; received the sacrament in the morning of Sunday; and after passing some time in spiritual conversation returned to their cells. One morning, the 14th of January, as they were about to separate, they were attacked by a party of Saracens, who drove them all into the church, while they plundered the repository of stores. Then, bringing them out, the barbarians killed the Superior Theodulus and two others outright; reserved several of the younger men as captives; and suffered the rest to escape up the sides of the mountains. Among these last was Nilus; his son Theodulus was among the captives. The Saracens now withdrew, taking the captives with them, and killing eight other anchorites in various places. Nilus and his companions in flight descended at night and buried the dead bodies; and afterwards retired to Pharan (Feîran). The council or senate of this city immediately sent messengers to the king of the Saracens; who disavowed the outrage and promised reparation. Meantime Theodulus had been sold and brought to Elusa; where he was redeemed by the bishop of that city, and ultimately recovered by his father.

In the middle of the fifth century, we find a letter from the emperor Marcian to the bishop Macarius, the archimandrites, and monks in Mount Sinai, "where are situated monasteries beloved of God and worthy of all honour," warning them against the dangerous

tenets and practices of the heretic Theodosius, who had fled to these mountains, after the council of Chalcedon, A. D. 451.[1] Nearly a century later, A. D. 536, among the subscriptions at the council of Constantinople, appears the name of Theonas, a presbyter and legate of the holy Mount Sinai, the desert Raithou (Tûr), and the holy church at Pharan.[2]

The tradition of the present convent relates, that it was established by the emperor Justinian A. D. 527, on the place where a small church had been built by Helena long before. The main fact of this tradition, the building of the great church, is supported by the testimony of Procopius the historian, who flourished about the middle of the same century. He relates that Mount Sinai was then inhabited by monks, "whose whole life was but a continual preparation for death;" and that in consideration of their holy abstinence from all worldly enjoyments, Justinian caused a church to be erected for them, and dedicated it to the holy Virgin.[3] This was placed not upon the summit of the mountain, but far below; because no one could pass the night upon the top, on account of the constant sounds and other supernatural phenomena which were there perceptible.[4] At the foot or outmost base of the mountain, according to Procopius, the same emperor built a

1) Harduin Acta Concilior. II. col. 665, compared with col. 685.

2) Harduin Acta Conc. II. col. 1281, 1304.

3) This is doubtless the church now standing; which, however, bears the name of the Transfiguration.

4) Procop. de Aedificiis Justiniani, lib. V. 8. We did not notice the Greek inscription over the gate, given by M. Letronne in the Journal des Savans, Sept. 1836, p. 358. Burckhardt speaks only of one in modern Arabic characters, with the same contents. Both inscriptions refer the building of the convent to Justinian in the thirtieth year of his reign, A. D. 527. But in that year Justinian first ascended the throne; and the inscription is doubtless therefore the work of a later age, and founded on a false tradition. As to the chapel said to have been built by Helena, there is not the slightest historical hint that she was ever in the region of Mount Sinai, or caused any church to be erected there.

strong fortress, with a select garrison, to prevent the inroads of the Saracens from that quarter into Palestine.

More explicit is the testimony of Eutychius, Patriarch of Alexandria in the latter half of the ninth century; which apparently as yet has never been referred to, but which shows that the present tradition has come down with little variation since that age. He relates that Justinian caused a fortified convent to be erected for the monks of Sinai, including the former tower and chapel, in order to protect them from the incursions of the Ishmaelites. This accords with the appearance of the building at the present day; and is probably the same work which Procopius has confounded with a fortress.[1]

Towards the close of the same (sixth) century, Sinai was visited by Antoninus Martyr; who found in the recently erected convent three Abbots, who spoke the Syrian, Greek, Egyptian and Besta (Arabic?) languages. A chapel was already built upon the summit, and the whole region was full of the cells and dwellings of hermits. On a part of Mount Horeb or Mountain of the Cross, the Saracens or Ishmaelites (Antoninus calls them by both names) at that time venerated an idol, apparently connected with the worship of the morning star, which was common among the Saracens.—It appears then, that these Saracens, the descendants of the Nabatheans, had continued to inhabit the peninsula, notwithstanding the intrusion of the monks and Christians. They differed probably in few respects from the Arabs of the present day.

During the earlier centuries of this monastic pos-

1) Eutychii Annales, ed. Pococke, II. p. 160. The whole passage is so curious, that a full translation of it is given in Note XVIII, at the end of the volume. Not improbably the "Arabic document" mentioned by Burckhardt, (p. 545,) as preserved in the convent, may be a manuscript of the work of Eutychius.

session of the peninsula, the seat of the bishop appears to have been at Pharan or Faran, the present Feirân; where was likewise a Christian population and a senate or council so early as the time of Nilus, about A. D. 400. About this time too Naterus or Nathyr is mentioned as its bishop. The bishop Macarius spoken of above probably had his seat there; and before the middle of the sixth century there is express mention of Photius as bishop of Pharan.[1] About the same time, A. D. 535, Pharan is mentioned by Cosmas as the location of Rephidim.[2] Theodorus of the same see was famous in the Monothelitic controversy, and was denounced by two councils; that of the Lateran, A. D. 649, and that of Constantinople, A. D. 680. The town of Faran or Feirân was situated in the Wady of that name, opposite to Jebel Serbâl. Rüppell found here the remains of a church, the architecture of which he assigns to the fifth century; and Burckhardt speaks of the remains of some two hundred houses, and the ruins of several towers visible on the neighbouring hills.[3] With the episcopal city the monasteries around Serbâl and Sinai stood of course in intimate connection; until at length the growing importance and influence of the convent established by Justinian, appears to have superseded the claims of Faran, and to have caused the chief episcopal seat to be transferred within its own walls, at least before the close of the tenth century. The death of Jorius, "bishop of Mount Sinai," is recorded in A. D. 1033.[4] At this time Sinai as an episcopal see stood directly under the Patriarch of Jerusalem, as an Archiepiscopate; that is, without

1) Le Quien Oriens Christ. III. col. 753. Comp. Tillemont Mémoires, etc. X. p. 453.

2) Cosmas Indicopl. Topogr. Christ. in Montfaucon Coll. nov. Patrum, II. p. 195.

3) Rüppell's Reisen in Nubien, etc. p. 263. Burckhardt's Travels, etc. p. 616. See more on Pharan in Note XVI, at the end of the volume.

4) Le Quien, l. c. col. 754.

the intervention of a metropolitan; and although the name of Faran still appears as a bishopric, yet all further notices of its importance are wanting.[1]

After the Muhammedan conquests, when the Saracens of the peninsula would seem to have exchanged their heathen worship for the tenets of the false prophet, the anchorites and inmates of the monasteries appear to have continued to live on in the same state of inquietude, and sometimes perhaps of danger. Near the close of the sixth century, and during the seventh, the well-known monkish writers, Johannes Climacus and Anastasius Sinaita, flourished here. About the middle of the tenth century the monks of Sinai are reported to have all fled for their lives to a mountain called Latrum.[2] In the beginning of the eleventh century, the convent was again in a flourishing state, and was visited by great numbers of pilgrims. At this time the celebrated St. Simeon resided here as a monk; who understood the Egyptian, Syriac, Arabic, Greek and Latin languages; and who in A. D. 1027 came to Europe and was hospitably entertained by Richard II. Duke of Normandy. He brought with him relics of St. Catharine, and collected alms for the convent; but afterwards founded an abbey in France, where he died.[3] In A. D. 1116, King Baldwin I. of Jerusalem made an excursion to the Gulf of 'Akabah, and expressed the intention of visiting Mount Sinai; he was persuaded not to do so by messengers from the monks, in order that they might not by his visit be exposed

1) See the *Notitia ecclesiastica* of Nilus, A. D. 1151, and that appended to the history of William of Tyre, Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 1045. These are given in full by Reland, Palaest. pp. 219, 220, 228.—Jacob de Vitry in the beginning of the twelfth century speaks of Sinai as the only suffragan-see under the metropolitan of Petra, i. e. Kerak; Gesta Dei, etc. p. 1077.

2) Baronius Annal. A. D. 956, VIII.

3) See Mabillon Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedict. Saec. VI. P. I. p. 374. Ejusd. Annales Ord. St. Benedict. lib. 56. c. 35, 36. Hist. Literaire de France, Tom. VII. p. 67.

to suspicion and danger from their Mussulman masters.[1]

All the circumstances hitherto detailed, seem to render it probable, that from about the beginning of the fourth century onwards a very considerable Christian population existed in the peninsula. The remains of the many convents, chapels and hermitages, which are still visible in various quarters, go to show the same thing; and add weight to the tradition of the present convent, that at the time of the Muhammedan conquest, six or seven thousand monks and hermits were dispersed over the mountains.[2] That pilgrimages to these holy spots, so sacred in themselves, and as the abodes of holy men, should then be frequent, was in that age almost a matter of course; and these are continued more or less even to the present day.

With these early pilgrimages the celebrated Sinaite inscriptions have been supposed to stand in close connection. Several of them have been mentioned above as occurring on our way to Sinai; and they are found on all the routes which lead from the West towards this mountain, as far South as Tûr. They extend to the very base of Sinai, above the convent el-Arba'în; but are found neither on Jebel Mûsa, nor on the present Horeb, nor on St. Catharine, nor in the valley of the convent; while on Serbâl they are seen on its very summits. Not one has yet been found to the eastward of Sinai. But the spot where they exist in the greatest number is the Wady Mukatteb, 'Written Valley,' through which the usual road to Sinai passes before reaching Wady Feirân. Here they occur by thousands on the rocks, chiefly at such points as would form convenient resting-places for

1) Albert. Aq. XII. 22, in Gesta Dei per Francos. Wilken Gesch. der Kreuzzüge, II. p. 403.

2) Burckhardt's Travels, etc. p. 546.

travellers or pilgrims during the noon-day sun;[1] as is also the case with those we saw upon the other route. Many of them are accompanied by crosses, sometimes obviously of the same date with the inscription, and sometimes apparently later or retouched. The character is everywhere the same; but until recently it has remained undeciphered in spite of the efforts of the ablest paleographists. The inscriptions are usually short; and most of them exhibit the same initial characters. Some Greek inscriptions are occasionally intermingled.

These inscriptions are first mentioned by Cosmas, about A. D. 535. He supposed them to be the work of the ancient Hebrews; and says certain Jews, who had read them, explained them to him as noting "the journey of such an one, out of such a tribe, in such a year and month;" much in the manner of modern travellers.[2] Farther than this, the most recent decipherer has as yet hardly advanced. When the attention of European scholars was again turned upon these inscriptions by Clayton, bishop of Clogher, about the middle of the last century,[3] they were still attributed by him and others to the Hebrews on their journey to Sinai. Since that time they have usually been regarded as probably the work of Christian pilgrims on their way from Egypt to Mount Sinai, during the fourth century. At any rate, the contents of them were already unknown in the time of Cosmas; and no tradition appears to have existed respecting their origin. As to the character, Gesenius supposed it to

1) Burckhardt's Travels, etc. 620.

2) Cosmas Indicopl. Topogr. Christ. in Montfaucon's Collect. nov. Patrum, II. p. 205.

3) See his Letter to the Society of Antiquaries, published under the title: "Journal from Grand Cairo to Mount Sinai," etc. Lond. 1753. This is the Journal of the Prefect of the Franciscans in Cairo, already referred to. The Bishop offers in his Letter, to bear any proper portion of the expense which might arise from sending a person to copy these inscriptions. p. 4.

belong to that species of the Phenician, or rather Aramæan, which, in the first centuries of the Christian era, was extensively employed throughout Syria, and partially in Egypt; having most affinity with that of the Palmyrene inscriptions. Prof. Beer of Leipzig, on the other hand, who has quite recently deciphered these inscriptions for the first time, regards them as exhibiting the only remains of the language and character once peculiar to the Nabathæans of Arabia Petræa; and supposes, that if at a future time stones with the writing of the country shall be found among the ruins of Petra, the character will prove to be the same with that of the inscriptions of Sinai. According to this view, they may not improbably turn out to have been made by the native inhabitants of the mountains.—Still, it cannot but be regarded as a most singular fact, that here in these lone mountains an alphabet should be found upon the rocks, which is shown by the thousands of inscriptions to have been once a very current one, but of which perhaps elsewhere not a trace remains.[1]

THE MODERN CONVENT.

After the times of the crusades the first notices of Mount Sinai and the present convent are from Sir John Maundeville, William de Baldensel, and Peter or Rudolf de Suchem, who all visited this region in the first half of the fourteenth century. The latter traveller (A. D. 1336—50) found here more than four hundred monks, under an archbishop and prelates; including lay brethren, who did hard labour among the mountains, and went with camels from Elim to Babylon (Tûr to Fostât), carying charcoal and dates in large quantities to market. In this way the convent

1) See more in Note XVII, at the end of the volume.

obtained a scanty support for its own inmates, and for the strangers who came to visit them.[1]

Burckhardt found among the archives of the convent the original of a compact between the monks and the Bedawîn, made in the year A. H. 800 or A. D. 1398; from which it appears that at that time, besides the great convent, six others were still existing in the peninsula, exclusive of a number of chapels and hermitages. In the fifteenth century there was an inhabited convent at Feirân. From another document two and a half centuries later (A. H. 1053, A. D. 1643) it appears that all these minor establishments had been already abandoned, and that the great convent alone remained; still holding property at Feirân, Tûr, and in other fertile vallies.[2] This accords with the testimony of travellers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, who speak only of deserted convents besides that of Sinai.[3] In this monastery in A. D. 1484, Felix Fabri relates, that there were then said to be eighty monks, although he did not see half that number. In Belon's time, about A. D. 1546, the number was reduced to sixty;[4] and Helffrich in A. D. 1565, found the convent temporarily abandoned. A century later Von Troilo found seventy monks. At present the number varies between twenty and thirty; though we found only twenty-one, of whom six were priests, and fifteen lay brethren; but two or three new members apparently arrived with us. The present inmates are chiefly from the Greek islands; and remain here for the most

1) Reissbuch des heil. Landes, Ed. 2, p. 839.—Ritter refers this passage to the Jebelîyeh or serfs of the convent. But it speaks expressly and only of *lay* brothers; and moreover the serfs were never entrusted with such matters. See Geschichte des Petr. Arabiens, in Abhandl. der Berl. Acad. 1824. Hist. phil. Cl. p. 222.

2) Burckhardt's Travels, etc. p. 547, seq. 617.

3) So Tucher, A. D. 1479; Breydenbach and Fabri, 1484; and many others.

4) Observat. Paris 1588, p. 282.

part only a few years. The affiliated or branch convent at Cairo has a prior and forty or fifty monks.[1]

All the earlier travellers to Sinai without exception speak of this as the convent of St. Catharine; and of the monks as belonging to the order of St. Basil. Burckhardt on the other hand says the monastery is dedicated to the Transfiguration; which is at least true of the church. Rüppell again calls it the Convent of the Annunciation, on what authority I know not. Nor am I able to affirm which of all these statements is most correct.

The last archbishop who resided in the convent, is said to have been Kyrillos, who died here in A. D. 1760.[2] Since that time it has been found advisable for this prelate to pass his life abroad, in order to avoid the rapacious exactions of the Arabs on the occasion of his accession and entrance into the convent. Long before that period the great gate of the convent had been walled up in self-defence, being opened only to admit a new archbishop; and even this seems not to have taken place since A. D. 1722.[3] The present archbishop is the ex-patriarch of Constantinople; and were he to visit the convent, the great gate (it was said) would have to be thrown open and remain so for

1) It is this branch convent that gives letters of introduction to travellers visiting Sinai from Cairo. For want of such a letter, Niebuhr in 1762 was refused admission to the convent at Sinai; but we were there told that a letter is not now indispensable, all who come being received. Still it is better to have one. See Niebuhr's Reisebeschr. I. p. 244.

2) Burckhardt, p. 549.

3) Burckhardt says not since A. D. 1709; but the Prefect of the Franciscans, who was here in 1722, relates that it had been open that very year. This writer also seems to be the first who speaks of the traveller's being drawn up to the high door or window. The same is mentioned by Van Egmond and Heyman about the same time. Von Troilo, A. D. 1666, describes the entrance as low, and defended by double iron doors, which were kept fastened night and day. He likewise mentions a high window, through which the monks let down food in a basket for the Arabs by a cord, but gives no hint that travellers were drawn up the same way. Reisebeschreibung, Dresd. 1676, pp. 379, 380.

six months; during which time the Arabs would have the right to come at will and eat and drink; and many thousand dollars would not cover the expense.

The archbishop is elected by a council of the monks, which manages in common the affairs of this convent and the branch at Cairo. This prelate is always selected from the priests of the monastery; and having then been consecrated as bishop by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, (in consequence of the ancient connection,) he becomes one of the four independent archbishops of the Greek church; the others being at Cyprus, Moscow, and Ochrida in Roumely. Were he present, he would have but a single voice in the management of the affairs of the convent, as a member of the council. While residing at a distance, he has no authority or connection with it, except to receive money and presents from its revenues.—The prior or superior, both here and at Cairo, is elected in like manner by the council. The present Superior at Sinai, Father Neophytus, was originally from Cyprus, and had been here eighteen years.

The monks of Sinai lead a very simple and also a quiet life, since they have come to be on good terms with their Arab neighbours. Five centuries ago Rudolf de Suchem describes their life in terms which are equally applicable to them at the present day. "They follow very strict rules; live chaste and modestly; are obedient to their archbishop and prelates; drink not wine but on high festivals; eat never flesh; but live on herbs, pease, beans, and lentiles, which they prepare with water, salt, and vinegar; eat together in a refectory without a table-cloth; perform their offices in the church with great devotion day and night; and are very diligent in all things; so that they fall little short of the rules of St. Antony."[1] To this day

1) Reissbuch, Ed. 2, p. 839.

the same rules continue; they eat no flesh and drink no wine; but their rules were made before the invention of distilled liquors, and therefore do not exclude date-brandy. Yet they all seem healthy and vigorous; and those who remain here, retain their faculties to a great age. The lay brother who waited on us, had seen more than eighty years; one of the priests was said to be over ninety; and one had died the year before at the age of one hundred and six. A great portion of their time is nominally occupied in religious exercises. They have (or should have) regularly the ordinary prayers of the Greek ritual seven times in every twenty-four hours. Every morning there is a mass about 7 o'clock; and on Saturdays two, one at 3 A.M. and the other at the usual hour. During Lent the exercises on certain days are much increased; on the Wednesday which we spent there, the monks were at prayers all the morning until 12 o'clock; and again during the night from 10 till 4 o'clock.

The pilgrims have of late years greatly fallen off; so that not more than from twenty to sixty now visit the convent annually. These, according to the Superior, are chiefly Greeks, Russians and English; a few Armenians and Copts; and only now and then a Mussulman. The good father probably regards all visitors as pilgrims. Yet so late as the last century, regular caravans of pilgrims are said to have come hither from Cairo and from Jerusalem; and a document preserved in the convent, mentions the arrival in one day of eight hundred Armenians from Jerusalem, and at another time, of five hundred Copts from Cairo.[1]

Besides the branch at Cairo, the convent has many *Metochia* or farms, in Cyprus, Crete, and elsewhere. The Greek parish in Tûr is also a dependency; but

1) Burckhardt, p. 552.

not that of Suez. The convent has one priest in Bengal, and two in Golconda, in India. The gardens and olive-groves in the vicinity all belong to it; as also extensive groves of palm-trees near Tûr; but its chief revenues are derived from the distant *Metochia*. The gardens and orchards in the peninsula are not now robbed by the Arabs; but owing to the great drought of the two preceding years, they were less productive. In a few weeks the convent would have consumed all the productions of its own gardens, and expected to become dependent on Egypt for every thing. Their grains and legumes they always get from Egypt. Of these they were now consuming at the rate of about one thousand *Ardebs*[1] a. year, or nearly double the common rate, in consequence of the drought and scarcity, which rendered the Arabs much more dependent than usual upon the convent for bread. The date-gardens near Tûr commonly bring them in about three hundred Ardebs of fruit; and if properly managed, might yield five hundred.

The inmates of the convent have now for many years lived for the most part in peace and amity with the Bedawîn around them. Occasional interruptions of the harmony indeed occur;[2] but of late, and especially since the time of scarcity and famine, the consideration and influence of the monks among the Arabs would seem to be greatly on the increase. This is further enhanced by the awe in which the latter stand of the Pasha of Egypt; and the certainty, that any

1) The *Ardeb* is equivalent very nearly to five bushels English. Lane's Mod. Egypt. II. p. 371.

2) So late as A. D. 1828, during Laborde's visit, a pilgrim was wounded in the thigh by a ball aimed at a monk by a Bedawy from the rocks above the convent. Voyage, etc. p. 67. Engl. p. 243. A monk who accompanied the Prefect of the Franciscans to the top of Sinai in 1722, was seized and beaten by the Arabs. The older travellers are full of similar accounts, and speak of the Arabs only as monsters.

injustice practised by them against the convent, would in the end recoil upon their own heads.

Among the tribes or clans of the Tawarah, three are by long custom and perhaps compact, *Ghafîrs* or protectors of the convent; and hold themselves responsible for its safety and that of every thing which belongs to it. These are the Dhuheiry, 'Awârimeh, and 'Aleikât. In return, the individuals of these clans are entitled to a portion of bread whenever they visit the convent. They formerly received also a cooked dish on such occasions; besides five and a half dollars each in money annually, and a dress for each male; but all these are no longer given. When in Cairo, they are likewise entitled to receive from the branch convent there, two small loaves every morning and a cooked dish every day at noon; and formerly they had in addition four loaves every evening, which however had been stopped the present year. Besides all this, they have the exclusive privilege of conveying travellers and pilgrims to and from the convent.

It may well be supposed that to satisfy all these claims in addition to the partial support of their own serfs, must draw largely upon the temporal resources of the convent. Yet the monks find it advisable to stop these many Arab mouths with bread, rather than expose themselves to their noisy clamour, and perhaps to the danger of sudden reprisals. The bake-house of the convent is of course upon a large scale. At the time of our visit, they complained of not being able to obtain camels to bring their supplies of grain from Tûr; and from this cause, perhaps, the best bread we saw was coarse and mingled with barley. That distributed to the Arabs is always of a very inferior quality. Their date-brandy was said to be no longer distilled in the convent, as was formerly the case.

ARABS OF THE PENINSULA.

The following account of the Bedawîn who inhabit the peninsula of Sinai, was derived chiefly from themselves; and if it be less complete than that of Burckhardt, it may yet serve to fill out the notices given by that traveller.[1]

The tribes reckoned to the proper Táwarah, the Bedawîn of Jebel Tûr or Sinai, are the following:

I. *The Sawâlihah*, the largest and most important of all the divisions of these Arabs, and comprising several branches which themselves constitute tribes; viz. 1. *The Dhuheiry;* of whom again a subdivision or clan are the *Aulâd Sa'îd* or *Sa'îdîyeh*, to whom our guides belonged. The Aulâd Sa'îd occupy the best vallies among the mountains, are respected, and seem to have most connection with the convent. Their present Sheikh Husein has been mentioned above. 2. *The 'Awârimeh.* 3. *The Kŭrrâshy*, whose head Sheikh Sâlih has long been the principal Sheikh of the Táwarah in all foreign relations, being the person to whom the Pasha addresses his orders relative to the peninsula.—The Sawâlihah for the most part occupy the country W. and N. W. of the convent. The pasturing places of the tribe are in general common to all its branches; but the vallies where date-trees grow and tillage exists, are said to be the property of individuals. They consider themselves as the oldest and chief inhabitants of the peninsula. All the branches regard each other as cousins, and intermarry. Their tradition is, that their fathers came hither from the borders of Egypt about the time of the Muhammedan conquest. The Kŭrrâshy, however, are said to be descendants of a few families, who early came among

1) Travels, etc. p. 557, seq.

them as fugitives from the Hejâz. Hence it is, perhaps, that the two first branches are Ghafîrs of the convent; and the Kŭrrâshy not.—Each of the branches is subdivided into smaller clans. Burckhardt speaks also of the *Rahamy* as a branch; but they were not named to us.

II. *The 'Aleikât* are also an old tribe; but much weaker than the Sawâlihah, being indeed few in number. Intermarriages occasionally take place between them and the latter tribe; but they are not in general approved of. The 'Aleikât are also Ghafîrs of the convent. They encamp chiefly around the western Wady Nŭsb; and extend their pasturage as far as to the Wadys Ghŭrŭndel and Wŭtâh.

III. *The Muzeiny* came into the peninsula at a later period; and are still regarded as intruders by the Sawâlihah, who do not intermarry with them. Our Arabs of the Aulâd Sa'îd held them in great contempt. The story of their introduction to the peninsula, as related by our guides, was as follows: The whole territory of the Tawarah originally belonged to the Sawâlihah and 'Aleikât, and was equally divided between them; the former having possession of the western part of the peninsula, and the latter of the eastern. During a famine, a war arose between the two tribes, in which the former in a night-attack near Tûr, killed all but seven men of the 'Aleikât. To celebrate this victory, they assembled around the tomb of Sheikh Sâlih in Wady esh-Sheikh, and sacrificed a camel. Just at this time, seven men of the Muzeiny came to them from their country Harb on the road to the Hejâz, and proposed to settle with them in the peninsula on equal terms; saying they had fled from home because they had shed blood, and feared the avenger. The Sawâlihah replied, that if they would come as serfs, they were welcome; if not, they

might depart. They chose to depart; and on their way fell in with the remnant of the 'Aleikât. Forming a league with these, they together fell upon the Sawâlihah at night, as they were assembled among the Tŭrfa-trees to feast upon the camel; and a great slaughter was the consequence. The war continued for many years; but at last peace was made between the contending parties by foreign mediation. The 'Aleikât now gave to the Muzeiny half of their portion of the peninsula and of their general rights; and admitted them to intermarriage. Those rights the Muzeiny still enjoy; but having increased very much in number, while the 'Aleikât have remained few and feeble, they now occupy all the eastern part of the peninsula and the whole Tawarah portion of the shore of the Gulf of 'Akabah, living very much by fishing; while the 'Aleikât, as is said above, have withdrawn to the vicinity of the western Wady Nŭsb. The Muzeiny stand in no connection with the convent.

IV. *Aulâd Suleimân*, consisting of only a few families in the neighbourhood of Tûr.

V. *Beni Wâsel*, also only a few families dwelling among the Muzeiny in and around Shŭrm.

These five tribes constitute the proper Bedawîn of Mount Sinai or Jebel Tûr, whence their name Tawarah in the plural, from the form Tûry in the singular. They stand connected under one head Sheikh,—at present Sheikh Sâlih of the Kŭrrâshy, as said above. They form a single body when attacked by other Bedawîn from abroad; but have occasionally bloody quarrels among themselves.

VI. To the Arab inhabitants of the peninsula must also be reckoned the *Jebelîych*, or serfs of the convent. The Táwarah do not of course acknowledge them as Bedawîn; but call them Fellâhs and slaves. Their very existence was almost unknown out of the penin-

sula, until the full account which Burckhardt for the first time gave of them.[1]

The tradition of the convent respecting these vassals, as related to us by the Superior, is as follows: When Justinian built the convent, he sent two hundred Wallachian prisoners, and ordered the governor of Egypt to send two hundred Egyptians, to be the vassals of the monastery, to serve and protect it. In process of time, as the Arabs came in and deprived the convent of many of its possessions, the descendants of these vassals became Muslims, and adopted the Arab manners.[2] The last Christian among them, a female, the Superior said, died about forty years ago in the convent of the Forty Martyrs.[3] These serfs are under the entire and exclusive control of the convent, to be sold, or punished, or even put to death, as it may determine. They are not now to be distinguished in features or manners from the other Bedawîn. A portion of them still encamp among the mountains in the vicinity of the convent; and have charge of its gardens in the neighbourhood. Some of them also attend by turns in the convent itself; where they perform menial offices, and lodge in the garden. Most of those who thus live around the convent, are in a great measure dependent upon it for support. When they work for the convent, as they often do in the garden and

1) Most of the early travellers appear to have known nothing of these Jebelîyeh. Belon merely mentions the 'slaves' of the convent; Observatt. p. 286. Paulus' Sammlung, etc. I. p. 224. Van Egmond and Heyman, (about A. D. 1720,) give a short but correct account of them; Reizen, II. p. 165. This was copied by Büsching, Erdbeschr. XI. i. p. 605. Ritter's construction of the language of Rudolf de Suchem has been noted above, p. 191, note 1. The testimony of Eutychius mentioned in the next note, has been hitherto entirely overlooked.

2) The substance of this tradition is corroborated as far back as the ninth century by the testimony of Eutychius, Patriarch of Alexandria; Annales II. p. 167, seq. The passage is curious, and is translated at length in Note XVIII, at the end of the volume. Compare p. 185, above.

3) Or, as Burckhardt was told, in A. D. 1750. P. 564.

elsewhere, they are paid at a certain rate, usually in barley. They too have the exclusive privilege of conducting visitors to the summits of the neighbouring mountains; for which they are paid in the same manner. But this right does not extend to conducting strangers on their journey to and from the convent. Every other day, those who apply, receive bread; each man five small loaves about as large as the fist, and of the coarsest kind; each woman less; and children one or two loaves. Of course none can regularly apply, except such as live quite near. The young and middle-aged men looked well and hardy; but there were old men and sick persons and children, who came around the convent, the very pictures of famine and despair. These miserable objects, nearly naked, or only half-covered with tatters, were said to live very much upon grass and herbs; and even this food now failing from the drought, they were reduced to mere skeletons.

Other portions or clans of these vassals are distributed among the gardens which the convent has now, or formerly had in possession in different parts of the peninsula. Thus the *Tebna* are settled in the date-gardens of Feirân; the *Bezia* in the convent's gardens at Tûr; and the *Sattla* in other parts.

On inquiring of the Superior as to the number of these vassals, he said he could not tell; but would give us the estimate he had formed about seven years before, when he had an opportunity to see them all together. At that time Sheikh Sâlih of the Kŭrrâshy, the head Sheikh of the Tawarah, who has always shown himself unfriendly to the convent, laid claim to the Jebelîyeh as his serfs, and undertook to enforce obedience to his demands. They were all greatly affrighted, and fled to a rendezvous in the mountains of et-Tîh, a distance of five days' journey. The Superior

went thither in person with another monk, to invite them back; but they refused to come without security against further molestation. He then went and laid the matter before the governor of Suez, producing the Firmâns of the convent (of which they have many) containing express mention of the Jebelîyeh as their serfs. Sheikh Sâlih was now summoned, but could bring forward no authority whatever in support of his claim. The result was, that he was thrown into prison and fined; and the Jebelîyeh returned to their former mode of life. At that time, the Superior said, he judged the whole number collected to be between fifteen hundred and two thousand souls. But this estimate is probably by far too large.

Within a few years, the Superior had baptized two of these serfs, who had embraced Christianity; and no objection had been made by any one.

The Arabs of the Tâwarah pretend to claim the whole territory of the peninsula as far North as to the Haj-road leading from Suez to 'Akabah; but they are in actual possession only of the part lying South of the chain of the Tîh. The tract North of this chain, including the northern desert, is inhabited by the *Terâbîn*, the *Tiyâhah*, and the *Haiwât*, allied tribes, who together are stronger than the Tawarah. The Terâbîn have been already mentioned as occupying the mountains er-Râhah and encamping around Tâset Sŭdr; and connecting towards the North with the tribe of the same name near Gaza. A small branch of them also occupy the eastern coast of the peninsula, along the Gulf of 'Akabah, between the ridges of et-Tîh. The Haiwât encamp upon the eastern part of the high plateau N. of et-Tîh, towards 'Akabah. The Tiyâhah roam over the district intervening between the Haiwât and western Terâbîn, and extend their wanderings northward towards Gaza. The pas-

tures of the Wadys along the northern side of et-Tîh are said to be good, and extend quite across the peninsula. Between the Tawarah and the Terâbîn, Tuweileb said, there is an oath of friendship, to endure "as long as there is water in the sea, and no hair grows in the palm of the hand."

In former times and down to the last century, the convent had also its protectors among all these northern tribes, and likewise among the 'Alawîn, Haweitât and other tribes towards Gaza and Hebron. In those days many, if not most, of the pilgrims came by way of Gaza; and none but the protectors had the right of conveying them. But as most visitors now come only from Egypt, this right has become restricted to the Tâwarah; the connection with other protectors has been dropped; and visitors arriving from any other quarter may bring with them, as guides, Arabs of any tribe. But they may depart only with guides from the Tawarah.

The Tawarah are regarded as among the poorest of all the Bedawîn tribes; nor can it well be otherwise. Their mountains are too desolate and sterile ever to furnish more than the scanty means of a precarious existence. Their flocks and camels are comparatively few, and the latter feeble; asses are not common; horses and neat cattle are entirely unknown, and could not subsist in their territory. Their scanty income is derived from their flocks, from the hire of their camels to transport goods and coals between Cairo and Suez, and from the sale of the little charcoal which they burn, and the gum arabic which they gather and bring to market, together with their dates and other fruits. But this is scarcely sufficient to buy clothing and provisions for their families; since all their grain must be purchased in Egypt, not a particle being raised in the peninsula. And when, as now,

the rains fail, and dearth comes upon the land, and their camels die off, then indeed despair and famine stare them in the face.

The entire population of the peninsula, as far North as to the Haj-route, is estimated by Burckhardt at not over four thousand souls. The calculation made out by Rüppell amounts to about seven thousand, which he regards as at least a fourth part too large. I am not able to add any new data for an estimate; but should regard that of Burckhardt as more probably correct.[1]

I have remarked above, that only two of the divisions of the Sawâlihah, viz. the Dhuheiry and 'Awârimeh, together with the tribe 'Aleikât, stand in the relation of Ghafîrs or protectors to the convent; while the other division of the former tribe, the Kŭrrâshy, as also the tribe Muzeiny, do not enjoy this privilege. Yet the tradition is, that long ago the Kŭrrâshy shared in this right by sufferance, although not fully entitled to it; or, as our Arabs said, "not written in the book of the convent." But they lost the privilege in the following manner, according to the Arab story. One night seven of their leaders entered the convent secretly by a back way; and in the morning presented themselves armed to the monks, demanding to be "written in the book." The monks, affrighted, said: "Very well; but it must be done in the presence of witnesses from among the other protectors." Witnesses were sent for; and on their arrival, being ordered to put aside their arms, were drawn up into the convent. By a private understanding with the monks, however, they had arms concealed in the bags they brought with them. The monks were secretly armed; and upon a given signal, all fell upon the Kŭrrâshy and killed six outright. The remaining one was thrown from the

1) Burckhardt, p. 560. Rüppell's Reisen in Nubien, p. 198.

convent walls, and killed. Since that time the Kŭrrâshy have had no claim to any connection with the convent.

Still, it is obvious, that privileges like those which the protectors enjoy, must ever be an object of longing and jealousy to tribes of half savage Bedawîn, who can see no reason why they should be excluded from them. Hence the Kŭrrâshy and Muzeiny are often in league against the convent and its protectors; and at all times cherish towards them an unfriendly spirit. An instance of this kind occurred no longer ago than the preceding year, in reference to Lord Lindsay and his party on their departure from the convent. His Lordship has alluded to the circumstance in his Letters; and I therefore feel at liberty to relate the story as we heard it from the Arabs on the spot. The Kŭrrâshy and Muzeiny, wishing to break down the monopoly of the protectors, applied to carry the party from the convent to 'Akabah. As soon as this became known, the three tribes of the protectors assembled in Wady Seheb (near Wady esh-Sheikh) under their Sheikhs Mûsa and Muteir; while the two former tribes also collected in Wady el-Akhdar under their Sheikhs Sâlih and Khudeir. The decision of the travellers was waited for with anxiety. If they concluded to take those who were not protectors, it was to be the signal for the protectors to fall upon the others in deadly conflict. But they decided for the protectors; and then the other party declared, that they would appeal to the Pasha. Here, however, the convent in Cairo interfered, and the appeal was never made. Subsequently to this a French traveller took one of the Muzeiny as guide to 'Akabah, against the counsel and influence of the convent; the Arab having gained over the dragoman of the traveller by a present. But by the advice of the convent, the pro-

tectors took no further revenge, than to procure for him a sound drubbing at 'Akabah.

There seems, however, a strong probability, that this matter will not be definitely settled without blood; for the two tribes above mentioned are continually renewing their attempts to share in the privileges of the protectors. We ourselves came near falling at first into the hands of the Muzeiny at Cairo, while we were yet ignorant of the whole subject. By some oversight, Khudeir their Sheikh was introduced to us at the British Consulate, to furnish us with camels for our journey to the convent; but he failed to come at the time appointed, in consequence (as we understood) of the interference of the branch convent.

In such quarrels among the Bedawîn, the Pasha of Egypt does not interfere, unless he is appealed to. About thirty years ago, during a war between the Tawarah and the Ma'âzeh inhabiting the mountains West of the Red Sea, a party of the former of about forty tents were encamped in Wady Sŭdr. The Ma'âzeh made up an expedition of two hundred dromedaries, nine horsemen, and a company of fifty Mughreby horsemen, to plunder this encampment. Passing Suez in the night, they found the Tawarah had removed to Wady Wardân; and fell upon them as the day dawned. Most of the men escaped; the women, as is the Bedawîn custom, were left untouched; and only two men, including the Sheikh, were killed. The Sheikh, an old man, seeing escape impossible, sat down by the fire; when the leader of the Ma'âzeh came up, and cried out to him to throw down his turban and his life should be spared. The spirited Sheikh, rather than do what, according to Bedawîn notions, would have stained his reputation ever after, exclaimed: "I shall not uncover my head before my enemies;" and was immediately killed by the thrust of a lance. Fifteen dromedaries,

many camels, some slaves, and much clothing and furniture were carried off; for the encampment was rich.[1] The Tawarah waited three months; and then collected a company of five hundred dromedaries and one hundred footmen, making in all a party of six hundred armed men. Passing Suez secretly, they surprised the Ma'âzeh in the night, killed twenty-four men including the Sheikh, and took seventy dromedaries, one hundred camels, and much other booty. The Sheikh was killed by mistake; for they had agreed to spare him, because he was a good and generous man, and had not been consenting to the expedition against them. Two other expeditions against the Ma'âzeh followed; in which more than twenty men were killed, and a great booty taken. The Ma'âzeh then sent a present of three dromedaries to Shedîd, Sheikh of the Haweitât residing in Cairo, begging him to bring about a peace with their enemies. He laid the case before Muhammed Aly; who, sending for the two parties, made peace between them, which has continued ever since.

The Tawarah regard the 'Abâbideh of Upper Egypt as enemies; and used formerly to cross the Gulf in boats and steal camels from them. At present nothing of the kind is done; but the enmity continues. A short time since, one of the Tiyâhah went by land to the country of the 'Abâbideh, and stole fifteen dromedaries; but the Pasha compelled him to restore them.

The Tawarah never go to law before the Egyptian tribunals. The Sheikh of each tribe or division acts as judge, in the true style of ancient patriarchal simplicity. Minor quarrels are generally settled by the parties between themselves. But when not, they bring the case before the judge, each putting into his hands a pledge; and he who loses the cause, forfeits his

1) This story is in part related by Burckhardt, p. 471. The incident of the Sheikh's death is derived from him.

pledge to the judge as his fee; while that of the other party is restored. When the judge has given his decision, the party who gains, executes the sentence for himself. Their mode of trial was described, both by the Arabs and by the Superior, as being wonderfully just. Bribery and partiality are unknown among them.—If two persons quarrel, a third may step in and make them kiss each other. Thenceforward they are to all appearance friends as before; although the case may still remain to be tried; and perhaps months may elapse before it is brought to an issue.

The following are some of the peculiarities of Bedawîn law; a law not of statute but of prescription, and as binding as the common law of England. If a Bedawy owes another, and refuses to pay, the creditor takes two or three men as witnesses of the refusal. He then seizes or steals, if he can, a camel or something else belonging to the debtor, and deposits it with a third person. This brings the case to trial before the judge; and the debtor forfeits the article seized. —The Bedawîn in their quarrels avoid beating each other with a stick or with the fist, as disreputable; this being the punishment of slaves and children, and a great indignity to a man. If it takes place, the sufferer is entitled to very high damages. Their code of honour allows blows to be given only with the sword or with a gun; and by these the sufferer feels himself far less aggrieved. In a quarrel of this kind, where swords have been used, if the case be brought to trial, a fine is imposed upon the party least wounded, large enough to counterbalance the excess of blows or injury received by the other party. The degree of offence, or provocation, or claim, is of no account; it being taken for granted that nothing can justify a quarrel, and that all such occurrences must be tried on their own simple merits.

If one person assaults and wounds another, who remains passive, friends step in and act as mediators. They first persuade the wounded man to agree to a truce of a month or more, during which time the parties leave each other in quiet. At the expiration of this term, the mediators on examination fix upon the sum which the injured man ought to receive as damages; for example, two thousand Piastres. This he agrees to accept, on condition that one of them becomes surety for it. But now one friend comes after another, and entreats him to remit for his sake a certain portion of this sum. In this way the fine will be reduced perhaps to two hundred Piastres. The parties are now brought together; and the injured man gives up to the offender perhaps one hundred more. In this way he actually receives not more than one hundred Piastres; and if the reconciliation be sincere, he may very probably give up even that. If both parties happen to be wounded, a balance of injuries is struck. The instrument of offence is forfeited by law to the person injured.

If in such quarrels, or in any other way, a person be killed, it is the right and duty of the nearest relative of the deceased, to slay the murderer or his nearest relative, wherever he may be found. But in general, those who are likely to suffer in this way, flee the country for a year or two; and in the mean time persons of influence interfere to appease the relatives of the deceased, and induce them to accept a considerable sum of money from the offender, as the fine of blood. The feud is then usually made up, and the offender is free to return. This is the ancient blood-revenge of the Hebrews, which was so firmly fixed in all their habits of life, that even the inspired lawgiver did not choose to abolish it directly; but only modified and controlled its influence by establishing

cities of refuge. Nothing of this kind exists among the Arabs.[1]

The simplest form in which these rules appear, is in their application to the same clan or tribe. But the same principles are also applied to quarrels and murders which take place between individuals of different tribes; unless the tribe of the aggressor take his part and adopt the quarrel as their own. In that case war ensues.

The strict honesty of the Bedawîn among themselves is proverbial; however little regard they may have to the right of property in others. If an Arab's camel dies on the road, and he cannot remove the load, he only draws a circle in the sand round about, and leaves it. In this way it will remain safe and untouched for months. In passing through Wady Sa'l on our way to 'Akabah, we saw a black tent hanging on a tree; Tuweileb said it was there when he passed the year before, and would never be stolen. Theft, he said, was held in abhorrence among the Tawarah; but the present year the famine was so great, that individuals were sometimes driven to steal food. He had just returned from Egypt with a camel-load of grain for his family, which he had put into one of their magazines as a place of safety; but it had all been stolen. Burckhardt relates, that he was shown in Wady Humr a point upon the rocks, from which one of the Tawarah, a few years before, had cast down his son headlong, bound hand and foot, for an offence of the very same kind.[2]

The following trait was communicated to us by the Superior of the convent. If a Bedawy discovers his wife or his daughter in illicit intercourse, he turns away and conceals the fact from every one, not even

1) The chief passages respecting the Hebrew blood-revenge are: Ex.xxi. 13. Num. xxxv. 9, seq. Deut. xix. 4, seq. Josh. xx. 1, seq. Joseph. Ant. IV.7. 4.

2) Page 475.

letting the guilty parties know that he has seen them. Months afterwards he will marry off his daughter; or after a longer time perhaps divorce his wife; living with them mean time as if nothing had happened, and assigning some other reason for the measure he adopts. One motive for this concealment is, to avoid personal disgrace; and another, to prevent the impossibility of the offender's ever being married.

We made many inquiries in the peninsula and among the tribes which we fell in with further North, but could never hear of a Bedawy among them all, who was able to read. Even Sheikh Sâlih, the head Sheikh of all the Tawarah, has not this power; and whenever a letter is addressed to him, or an order from the government, he is obliged to apply to the convent to have it read. Among the Tawarah this ignorance seems rather to be the result of habit and want of opportunity; but among the tribes of the northern deserts, we found it was accounted disreputable for a Bedawy to learn to read. They rejoice in the wild liberty of their deserts, as contrasted with towns and cities; and in like manner take pride in their freedom from the arts and restraints of civilized life.

The Muhammedanism of all these sons of the desert, sits very loosely upon them. They bear the name of followers of the false prophet; and the few religious ideas which they possess, are moulded after his precepts. Their nominal religion is a matter of habit, of inheritance, of national prescription; but they seemed to manifest little attachment to it in itself, and live in the habitual neglect of most of its external forms. We never saw any among them repeat the usual Muhammedan prayers, in which other Muslims are commonly so punctual; and were told indeed that many never attempt it; and that very few among them

even know the proper words and forms of prayer. The men generally observe the fast of Ramadân, though some do not; nor do the females keep it. Nor is the duty of pilgrimage more regarded; for according to Tuweileb, not more than two or three of all the Tawarah had ever made the journey to Mecca.—The profaneness of the Bedawîn is excessive and almost incredible. 'Their mouth is full of cursing;' and we were hardly able to obtain from them a single answer that did not contain an oath.

We asked the Superior of the convent whether the Bedawîn would feel any objection to professing Christianity? His reply was: "None at all; they would do it to-morrow, if they could get fed by it." It is this indifference of dark and unregulated minds, that lies in the way of all moral and intellectual improvement among them. The convent might exert an immense influence over them for good, if it possessed in itself the true spirit of the Gospel. Were a missionary to go among the Tawarah and perhaps other tribes, speaking their language and acquainted with their habits, he would doubtless be received with kindness; and were he to live as they live, and conform to their manners and customs in unimportant things, he would soon acquire influence and authority among them. In all our intercourse with them, we found them kind, good-natured, and accommodating; although, as might be expected, great beggars. But no very permanent impression can well be hoped for upon them, so long as they retain their wandering and half-savage life; and this mode of life must necessarily continue, so long as the desert is their home. To introduce civilization among them, their inveterate predilection for the desert and its wild fascinations must first be overcome; and they then be transplanted to a kindlier soil, where they may become wonted to fixed abodes, and to the

occupations of a more regular life. But it may be doubtful, whether such a course is possible through any mere human agency; at least, it would be no light matter, thus to overturn habits and a mode of life, which have come down to them through nearly forty centuries unchanged.

SECTION IV.

FROM MOUNT SINAI TO 'AKABAH.

Thursday, March 29th, 1838. *Afternoon.* About noon our luggage and then ourselves were let down from the high window of the convent; and after a vast amount of scolding and clamour among the Arabs about the division of the loads, we mounted at 1 o'clock and bade adieu to the friendly monastery. Burckhardt has remarked, that every Arab who is present at the departure of a stranger from the convent, is entitled to a fee;[1] but we did not find this to be the case, although our intended departure was known throughout the mountains. A number of the Jebelîyeh indeed collected around us; but they were the old and sick and lame and blind, who came as beggars, and not to claim a right. We escaped their importunity by leaving Komeh behind us, to distribute a few Piastres among them after our departure. Just at setting off, I bought a stick of a boy for a trifle, to serve as a staff or to urge on my camel. It was a straight stick with shining bark, very hard and tough; and I learned afterwards, that our Arabs regarded it as cut from the veritable kind of tree from which the rod of Moses had been taken. It did me good service through the desert, and in all our subsequent wanderings in Judea and to Wady Mûsa; but did not stand proof at last against the head of a vicious mule on our way to Nazareth.

1) Page 491.

We reached the entrance of Wady esh-Sheikh in twenty-five minutes, and turned into it between the high cliffs of el-Furei'a on the left, and the Mountain of the Cross on the right, leaving Horeb behind us. The valley is here a quarter of a mile in width; and our course in it was E. N. E. At a quarter past two we were opposite the mouth of Wady es-Sebâ'îyeh, which here comes in as a broad valley from the S., having its head near the S. E. base of Jebel Mûsa, and thence sweeping around to the E. of the Mountain of the Cross. A little before reaching this point, a small Wady called Abu Mâdhy comes down from the mountain on the right; at the head of which is water. Wady esh-Sheikh now bends round to the N. N. E. and afterwards to the N. and spreads out into a broad plain tufted with herbs and shrubs affording good pasturage. At $2\frac{1}{2}$ o'clock we lost sight of Horeb. Jebel Mûsa and St. Catharine had nowhere been visible. We now had Jebel Furei'a on our left; on the top of which there is table-land with water, and pasturage for camels. After another hour we passed the mouth of the small Wady el-Mŭkhlefeh, which enters from the right, and came immediately (at $3\frac{1}{2}$ o'clock) to the tomb of Sheikh Sâlih, one of the most sacred spots for the Arabs in all the peninsula. It is merely a small rude hut of stones; in which the coffin of the Saint is surrounded by a partition of wood hung with cloth, around which are suspended handkerchiefs, camels' halters, and other offerings of the Bedawîn. The history of this Saint is uncertain; but our Arabs held him to be the progenitor of their tribe, the Sawâlihah; which is not improbable. Once a year, in the latter part of June, all the tribes of the Tawarah make a pilgrimage to this tomb, and encamp around it for three days. This is their greatest festival.[1] We dis-

1) Burckhardt, p. 489.

mounted and entered the building; at which our guides seemed rather gratified, and prided themselves on the interest we took in their traditions.

We here left Wady esh-Sheikh, which now bends more to the northward, and at an hour and a half from this place issues from the dark cliffs forming the outworks of the central granite region, at the point near which I have above supposed Rephidim to have been situated. Crossing some low hills running out from the eastern mountain, we came in half an hour on a course N. E. by N. to the well Abu Suweirah, in the lower part of the small Wady es-Suweirîyeh which comes down from the N. E. The well is small, but never fails; and near by are two small enclosed gardens. Passing on a little further, we encamped at 4^h 10′ in the narrow Wady.

The exchange we had made at the convent both as to men and camels, proved on the whole to be advantageous; except perhaps in the case of one old man, Heikal, who turned out to be the very personification of selfishness. His two camels were among the best; and he always contrived that they should have the lightest loads. Tuweileb was a man of more experience and authority than Beshârah; though less active. All were at once ready to lend a hand at pitching the tent, and making the necessary preparations for the evening repast. After dinner Tuweileb paid us a visit in our tent; and this practice he continued regularly all the time he was with us. He was always sure of a cup of coffee; and in these visits was more open and communicative than anywhere else, giving us freely all the information he possessed on the points to which we directed our inquiries.

The road we had now entered upon, is the usual one from the convent to 'Akabah, and the same followed by Burckhardt in A. D. 1816, in his unsuccess-

ful attempt to reach the latter place. Times have now changed, after the lapse of more than twenty years; and we and others found no difficulty in doing what that enterprising traveller was unable to accomplish.

Friday, March 30th. The thermometer at sunrise stood at 38° F. the coldest morning I had experienced since entering Egypt in the beginning of January; and only once more, a few days later, did we have a like degree of cold. In the course of the day, however, as we passed through vallies shut in by rocks and desolate mountains, we found the heat caused by the reflection of the sun's rays to be very oppressive.

Starting at five minutes before 6 o'clock, and proceeding up the little valley N. E. by E. we came in twenty-five minutes to its head; from which we ascended for twenty minutes further by a rocky pass to the top of a ridge, which here forms the water-summit between the waters flowing into Wady esh-Sheikh and so to the Gulf of Suez, and those running to the Gulf of 'Akabah. From near the top of the pass, Jebel Kâtherîn bore S. S. W.$\frac{1}{2}$W. We now turned E. by S. for half an hour along the top of a low ridge between two small Wadys; that on the left called 'Örfân, which runs into Wady Sa'l; and that on the right el-Mŭkhlefeh, running to Wady ez-Zŭgherah. These two large Wadys, S'al and Zŭgherah,[1] pass down at the opposite ends of the high black ridge el-Fera'; but run together before reaching the sea, which they enter at Dahab. At 7^h 10′ we turned E. N. E. and crossing a tract of broken ground, descended by a branch of Wady Örfân. This latter unites with several others and takes the name of Wady Sa'l ten minutes after; although it is still not the main Wady of

1) Wady ez-Zŭgherah appears to be the valley called by Laborde Wady *Zackal*, by which he descended to the eastern Gulf.

that name. Our general course was now E. apparently towards the middle of the long dark ridge of Fera'.

From this point Jebel Hăbeshy bore S. E. lying to the S. of Wady Zŭgherah, between that valley and Wady Nŭsb; which also unites with the Zŭgherah further down. Nearly behind us were now seen the peaks of Um Lauz, Um 'Alawy, and Râs el-Ferûsh, seeming like outposts of Sinai on this part. Indeed, on crossing the low pass soon after setting off this morning, we had left the upper granite region of Sinai, which on this side is comparatively open and unguarded; the peaks just mentioned lying further South. The sides of Wady Sa'l which we were now descending, are here only low hills of disintegrated granite, similar to the low belt around Sinai in the N. W. The vallies are wide and shallow, and have many tufts of herbs, chiefly 'Abeithirân. At 8 o'clock a conspicuous mountain came in sight on the left, bearing North, and called Râs esh-Shŭkeirah from a valley of that name. It is a spur of the southern ridge of the Tîh, running off S. E. from it. The road from the convent to 'Ain passes near this mountain, leaving it on the right; while in crossing the southern Tîh, it leaves the part called edh-Dhŭlŭl to the left; and then strikes the head of Wady ez-Zŭlakah (called also ez-Zŭrânîk), which it follows down to 'Ain.[1]

Half an hour afterwards this open country terminated; we reached the dark barrier of el-Fera' which bounds it on the E. and seems to cut off all further progress. But the Wady we were following, here enters the mountain by a narrow cleft, and continues for six hours to wind its way among dark and naked

1) This is the Wady Salaka of Rüppell. Both he and Laborde also speak of it, or of a part of it, as Wady *Saffran;* but neither Tuweileb nor any of our Arabs knew this name; although the former was the guide of both these travellers.

ridges and peaks through scenes of the sternest desolation. The ridge Fera' extends on the right from this point to Wady Zŭgherah; on the left it takes the name of el-Muneiderah. The valley, still a branch of Wady Sa'l, is narrow and winds exceedingly; yet the general course is nearest East. The high and desolate mountains which thus shut it in, are chiefly of grünstein, with some slate and veins of porphyry; the higher peaks as we advanced being sometimes slightly crested with sandstone. Shrubs and herbs indeed are scattered in the bottom of the valley; but the mountains are destitute of vegetable life, and the blackness of the rocks renders the valley gloomy.

After half an hour more (at 9 o'clock) the main branch of Wady Sa'l comes in from the W. N. W. through which passes up a route from en-Nuweibi'a to Suez, crossing the great sandy plain er-Ramleh, and reaching the head of the western Wady Nŭsb in two days from this point. It strikes this latter Wady at the tomb of Sheikh Habûs, which lay on our left in going to Surâbît el-Khâdim. The first day's journey crosses Wady Akhdar and stops at a station without water, called el-Humeit.—At $10^h\ 10'$ another tributary came in from the N. W. called es-Sa'l er-Reiyâny, "the wet," in which there is water some distance above. The Seyâl or Tŭlh-trees began now to appear, and continued till we left the valley. Many of them are of considerable size, with thin foliage and a multitude of thorns. From them gum arabic is sometimes gathered. According to Tuweileb, all these trees, as also the Tŭrfa, are public property; and whoever will, may gather both gum and manna.

We had now entered the territory of the Arabs Muzeiny. At $1^h\ 50'$ the valley opened out to a wide plain; the mountains on the left disappeared; and we could look out over the great sandy plain already

described, quite to the southern ridge of the Tîh. It bore here the same character as where we saw it at the head of Wady Nŭsb, an even, unbroken, precipitous chain, showing horizontal layers of rock, and perfectly barren. Wady Zŭlakah and all the waters which connect with 'Ain, lie N. of this ridge, between it and the northern Tîh. From this point our course was N. E. At ten minutes past 2 o'clock Wady esh-Shŭkeirah came in from the West, having its head in the fork between Râs esh-Shŭkeirah above mentioned and the southern Tîh. Soon afterwards we saw a black tent hanging on a tree, which Tuweileb said was there when he passed this way last year, and would never be taken away except by the rightful owner.[1] The plain of Wady Sa'l here connects on the N. with the great sandy plain reaching to et-Tîh; while the Wady itself sweeps off to the S. E. and again entering the mountains goes to join Wady Zŭgherah in the direction of Dahab. We left the plain of the Sa'l at 2^h 40′, ascending a low ridge called 'Öjrat el-Fŭras, the top of which we reached at 3 o'clock; and again descending we encamped half an hour later in a small valley tributary to Wady Mŭrrah, in the midst of an open, undulating, desert region, with hills of grünstein on the right, capped with sandstone. Our day's journey had not been a long one; but the heat had been very oppressive, pent up as we were so long within the naked walls of Wady Sa'l, and exposed to both the direct and reflected rays of an unclouded sun.

This evening Tuweileb gave us some account of himself, and of the kindness he had experienced from M. Linant. He was now about sixty years old and obviously in the wane of his strength. His wife had died not long before, leaving him two children, a boy

1) See above, p. 210.

of some twelve years of age, and a girl about eight. These children were now in our train. On inquiring of their father, how he came to take them on such a journey, he said they were alone at home, and he had intended to leave them so; but on his coming away, they cried to go with him, and he said, "No matter, get upon the camels and come along." He had thus brought with him two spare camels, which were not in our employ, and were said to have been broken down. The children were bright and active. The boy usually watched the camels when they were turned loose to feed. The little girl had fine eyes and a pleasing face. She usually wore only a long flowing shirt, but had a blanket for the night and for cooler days; and commonly rode all day bare-headed under a burning sun. She at first stood in great fear of the strangers; nor did her shyness towards us ever fully wear off.

During the preceding year, Tuweileb had spent a fortnight in and near the great plain el-Kâ'a, not far from Mount Serbâl, pasturing his camels, without a drop of water for himself or them. He drank the milk of the camels; and they, as well as sheep and goats, when they have fresh pasture, need no water. In such case they will sometimes go for three or four months without it. Others had told us, that the camel needs water once in every three days in summer, and every five days in winter; but this is probably when the pastures are dry, or when they are fed on provender.

Saturday, *March* 31*st*. We set off at 5^h 50′, and continuing down the little Wady towards the N. E. for twenty-five minutes, reached the main branch of Wady Mŭrrah. This comes from the N. W. where it rises near et-Tîh, and passes off in a S. E. direction to join Wady Sa'l. We crossed it on a very oblique course, going E. N. E. till 6^h 55′; when we left the Wady

and passed over hills of drift sand, which our guide called el-Burka'. Among these it required all Tuweileb's sagacity and experience to keep the proper road; and here apparently Burckhardt's guide missed the way and kept on further down Wady Mŭrrah.[1] Our course was now N. E. over a sandy region full of low ridges and hills of sandstone of various colours. At 7^h 50′ we came out upon an open sandy plain extending to the foot of the Tîh, here an hour or more distant, and still retaining its character of a regular wall, composed of strata of sandstone, with layers apparently of limestone or clay towards the top. At 8 o'clock we began to cross the heads of several small Wadys called Rîdhân esh-Shŭkâ'a. At 8^h 15′ our course was again E. N. E., and half an hour later Mount St. Catharine was visible, bearing S. W. by W. In another half hour a high mountain was seen across the eastern Gulf, called Jebel Taurân, bearing E. by S. At half past 9 o'clock we descended a little into another Wady or shallow water-course called el-Ajeibeh, coming from the foot of et-Tîh, and flowing off to Wady Mŭrrah. We crossed it very obliquely E. by N. and emerged from it after twenty-five minutes, keeping on the same course. None of all these Wadys bore any marks of water during the present year.

Opposite this point the chain of et-Tîh bends more N. E. and sinks down into lower hills. At three quarters past ten, our guides pointed out the place of the fountain 'Ain el-Hŭdhera through a pass N. N. E. with several low palm-trees around it; and soon after, we came upon another series of connected Wadys, called Mawârid el-Hŭdhera, or "paths" to this fountain. Our course led us to the right of el-Hŭdhera; but at 11^h 10′ we stopped in a valley at the point where our road

1) Travels, page 493.

came nearest to it; and all the camels were sent up the valley to be watered at the fountain, which was said to be more than half an hour distant towards et-Tîh. Meantime we lay down upon the sand and slept. After a while, some of the men came back with five of the camels; saying the path was so rugged and difficult that their camels could not reach the spring. The others however succeeded; and after a delay of nearly three hours, returned, bringing a supply of tolerably good water, though slightly brackish. It is the only perennial water in these parts. These Arabs, being out of Tuweileb's sight, had probably turned their camels loose at the fountain to feed; and had themselves followed our example, and refreshed themselves with a nap. From this point a high mountain, said to lie in the fork of Wady Zŭgherah and Wady Nŭsb, bore S. S. W.$\frac{1}{2}$S.

Burckhardt has already suggested, that this fountain el-Hŭdhera is perhaps the Hazeroth of Scripture, the third station of the Israelites after leaving Sinai, and either four or five days' march from that mountain.[1] The identity of the Arabic and Hebrew names is apparent, each containing the corresponding radical letters; and the distance of eighteen hours from Sinai accords well enough with the hypothesis. The determination of this point is perhaps of more importance in Biblical history, than would at first appear; for if this position be adopted for Hazeroth, it settles at once the question as to the whole route of the Israelites between Sinai and Kadesh. It shows that they must have followed the route upon which we now were, to the sea and so along the coast to 'Akabah; and thence probably through the great Wady el-'Arabah to Kadesh. Indeed, such is the nature of the country, that

1) Num. xi. 35. xxxiii. 17. Comp. x. 33.—Burckhardt, p. 495.

having once arrived at this fountain, they could not well have varied their course, so as to have kept aloof from the sea and continued along the high plateau of the western desert.

We were again upon our way at $2\frac{1}{4}$ o'clock, approaching now the southern chain of the Tîh. Our general course was E. N. E. At 2^h 40′ there was a narrow pass and a slight descent among hills of sandstone. Here on the rocks at the left were several Arabic inscriptions with crosses, marking them as the work of pilgrims; and lower down along the descent were many rude drawings of animals. The route now winds much among sandstone hills and ridges, itself very sandy; and at 3 o'clock we came out into a large open tract or plain called el-Ghôr, extending far to the S. E. and connecting apparently with the great sandy plain which skirts the Tîh further to the West. We had now reached the line of the southern chain of the Tîh; which here sinks down into precipitous isolated hills and masses of sandstone rock, rent to the bottom by narrow sandy vallies or clefts, through which the route passes, neither ascending nor descending except slightly. We may call these hills the fragments of the Tîh. Entering among these cliffs, we came without perceptible ascent at $3\frac{1}{2}$ o'clock to the point which divides the waters of Wady Mŭrrah and Sa'l from those which run northwards to Wady Wetîr. Here we struck the head of Wady Ghŭzâleh, which we followed down N. E. having perpendicular walls of sandstone on each side, and so narrow that in some places it might be closed by a gate. At the end of another fifteen minutes we emerged from these hills or fragments of the Tîh, into an open sandy plain, with hills upon the left, and on the right at some distance Jebel es-Sŭmghy, a long ridge running from N. W. to S. E. and forming a sort of continuation of this

part of the Tîh towards the eastern coast. In this mountain on the other side rises the Wady of the same name. At 3h 50′ the middle of the ridge bore E. At 4 o'clock we left the bed of Wady Ghŭzâleh running off N. to join Wady Wetîr; and crossing a sandy tract for fifteen minutes we struck Wady er-Ruweihibîyeh[1] coming down from the N. E. and flowing by a short turn into Wady Ghŭzâleh. We ascended this valley till half past 4 o'clock and then encamped in it for the night and for the next day. It is one of the prettiest Wadys we had found; the sand ceased as we entered it and the bottom is of fine gravel. The valley is broad; the sides are rugged naked cliffs, where sandstone, grünstein, and granite, all appear alternately. It is everywhere dotted with herbs; and many Seyâl-trees scattered in it give it almost the appearance of an orchard.

The country we had passed through this day is a frightful desert. In some of the Wadys there were herbs and shrubs; in others none; while the sandy plains and ragged sandstone hills were without a trace of vegetation. As we emerged from the narrow part of Wady Ghŭzâleh, the aspect of the country changed; and it was evident that we had passed the southern range of the Tîh. We were now among another net of Wadys, which drain the mountainous region between the two parallel ridges of that mountain. The most central and frequented spot in this region is the fountain and Wady called el-'Ain, lying several hours distance to the N. W. of our present encampment; where there is living water and a brook and luxuriant vegetation, resembling apparently Wady Feirân, though without cultivation.[2] The water is said not to be so

1) Wady Rahab of Burckhardt, p. 496.

2) Rüppell's Reisen in Nubien, p. 255, seq.

good as that of el-Hŭdhera. From that point the great Wady Wetîr runs down eastward by a winding course to the Gulf, forming the great drain into which all the Wadys of the region from the N. and S. empty themselves. A road already mentioned leads from the convent to el-'Ain, crossing the southern Tîh at a point considerably further West than our route, and then following down Wady Zŭlakah. From 'Ain a route goes off northwards to Gaza and Hebron, crossing the northern ridge of the Tîh; and another keeps down Wady Wetîr to the Gulf, and so along the coast to 'Akabah.

Sunday, April 1st. We remained all day encamped. In the afternoon I wandered away into a lone side-valley and wrote a letter. Scarcely ever have I had such a sense of perfect solitude. No human eye was there; and no sound save that of the wind among the rocks. Just as I was about to return, a wild-looking Arab with his gun stood suddenly before me. I might have been startled, had I not recognised him at once as one of our own men,—a good-natured fellow who had come to look for me on account of my long absence.

Monday, April 2d. We started at 5½ o'clock. The morning was bright and beautiful; the sky serene; and the air of the desert fresh and invigorating. We proceeded up the valley N. E. by E. A little bird sat chirping on the topmost twig of one of the Seyâl-trees; and reminded me strongly of the notes of the American robin on my own green native hills. What a contrast to this desert! in which we had only once seen a blade of grass since we left the region of the Nile. In twenty minutes we came out on an open plain at the head of Wady er-Ruweihibîyeh. This plain consists of sandstone only partially covered with earth; the surface declines slightly towards the

N. E. and its waters flow off in that direction to Wady es-Sŭmghy. At 6h 25′ we struck a small Wady descending N. E. along the northwestern extremity or base of Jebel Sŭmghy. The rocks here still exhibited alternate specimens of sandstone, grünstein, and granite. Twenty-five minutes further, the Wady entered very obliquely among the cliffs, which on this side form the commencement of the mountainous tract extending without much change of character to the coast. The cliffs were dark; and as we advanced, seemed to be chiefly of gray granite, with an occasional intermixture of porphyry and grünstein. Nothing could be of a more barren and uninviting aspect. At a quarter past 7 o'clock we left the Wady running on in the same direction to join Wady es-Sŭmghy further down, and turned at right angles into a branch Wady coming from the S. E. Here we ascended gradually for a few minutes, and then crossing the low water-shed descended towards Wady Sŭmghy, which we reached at 8 o'clock. This is a wide valley coming from the S. W. It is joined at this point from the S. by another broad Wady or plain called el-Mukrih; and the united valley flows off N. N. E. It is quite wide, and has many Seyâl-trees, from which gum arabic is collected in summer. All the trees of this species which we had seen since leaving the convent, were larger than those on the western side of the peninsula, and might compare with apple-trees of a moderate size.

Our course now lay down Wady Sŭmghy N. N. E. The cliffs on each side are high and irregular, and occasionally capped with sandstone. After half an hour we had a distant view of the northern ridge of the Tîh, in which a high point bore N. 15° E. The shrubs in this valley were greener than we had seen before; indicating that more rain had fallen in this

quarter than elsewhere. At 9h 40′ we left the Sŭmghy, and turned short towards the right into a side-valley, which after an ascent of forty minutes brought us at 10h 20′ by a narrow pass to the top of a sharp ridge. Here is the head of Wady es-Sa'deh, which runs under the same name quite down to the sea.[1] We now followed down this valley on a general course E. N. E. between abrupt cliffs, alternately of granite and grünstein, from three hundred to five hundred feet in height, sometimes tipped with sandstone. The cliffs grew higher as we advanced, and contracted the valley more and more, often presenting at the frequent turns grand and imposing bulwarks. For a moment at 11h 10′ we had a distant glimpse of the sea for the first time; but it speedily vanished. Fifteen minutes further a large tributary came in from the right; and at 11h 35′, the whole valley was contracted between enormous masses of rock to the width of only ten or twelve feet. This romantic pass is called el-Abweib, "the little door." At 12¼ o'clock Wady es-Sa'deh at length opened from the mountains towards the shore upon a large bed of gravel, apparently brought down by its torrents. Here, just at the left, is a thin ridge or stratum of chalk. The shore is still nearly a mile distant; and near it, directly in front, is the brackish fountain en-Nuweibi'a, with a few low palm-trees, belonging to the Muzeiny. The descent towards the shore over the bed of gravel is very considerable.[2]

The first view of the Gulf and its scenery from the spot where we now stood, if not beautiful, (for how

1) The short valley by which we ascended is the Wady Boszeyra (Bŭseirah) of Burckhardt. Our Arabs did not know this name; but reckoned the whole to Wady es-Sa'deh.

2) This point of the coast was reached by Seetzen in A. D. 1810, by nearly the same route. Hence he proceeded southwards along the shore of the Gulf. Zach's Monatl. Corresp. XXVII. p. 64.

can a desert be beautiful?) was yet in a high degree romantic and exciting. The eastern Gulf of the Red Sea is narrower than the western; but it is the same long blue line of water, running up through the midst of a region totally desolate. The mountains too are here higher and more picturesque than those that skirt the Gulf of Suez; the valley between them is less broad; and there is not the same extent of wide desert plains along the shores. Towards the S. the Gulf seemed to be some ten geogr. miles in breadth. Immediately at our left, a broad gravelly plain, having also drift sand upon it, extended out into the sea for a great distance; while on the opposite coast a like projection appeared to reach out to a less extent; so that between the two the breadth of the Gulf at this point was very much diminished. Further North it widens again, as before. The western mountains are mostly precipitous cliffs of granite, perhaps eight hundred feet in height, and in general a mile or more distant from the shore; though bays occasionally set quite up to their foot. From them a slope of gravel usually extends down to the sea. Opposite to Wady es-Sa'deh the mountains of the eastern coast are higher than those of the western; but further North they are lower. The general line of the western coast runs N. N. E. as far as to the remarkable cape Râs el-Burka', which terminates the view in that direction.

We now turned to the left along the coast, descending gradually to the gravelly plain above mentioned; and crossing it half way between the mountain and the sea. We found it everywhere much cut up by water-courses and gullies from Wady Wetîr, which spread themselves widely over the plain, as the waters of the rainy season rush from that Wady towards the shore. This important Wady, the mouth of which we passed at a quarter past one, serves (as I have said

above) to drain the whole region between the two ridges of the Tîh; and brings down occasionally immense volumes of water, as is evident from the traces left upon the plain. Here for the first time we saw trunks of trees thus brought down. The road taken by Rüppell and Laborde in going from 'Akabah to Sinai, passes up this valley to el-'Ain, about a day and a half distant; and thence through Wady Zŭlakah to the convent.

At 1½ o'clock we were opposite to el-Wâsit, a small fountain near the shore, with a number of palm-trees, marking the boundary between the Muzeiny and the few families of Terâbîn who inhabit this region. Having crossed the projecting plain, we came at a quarter past 2 o'clock to a small grove of palm-trees on the slope near the shore, and a well called Nuweibi'a of the Terâbîn, to distinguish it from the other. Here were traces of a recent encampment of these people; and we expected to find at least some fishermen who frequent the coast; but none appeared. Traces of former dwellings, or perhaps magazines, were also visible, formed of rude stones laid together without cement; such as are not unfrequent among the Arabs of the peninsula. Every three or four of the palm-trees are enclosed by a mound forming a reservoir, into which the torrents from the mountains had been turned. The well is eight or ten feet deep; the water naturally brackish; and now, from long standing, it emitted an odour of sulphuretted hydrogen. The camels were watered here, and seemed thirsty. The Arabs also filled their water-skins, saying we should find no more water so good until we reached 'Akabah. The shrub Ghŭrkŭd grows here in abundance.—After a detention of an hour, we again set off. Many heaps of large shells were seen as we passed along; showing how very abundant shell-fish must be upon this

coast. After three quarters of an hour, we encamped at 4 o'clock on the shore, at the foot of a bay which sets up near to the mountains.

Tuesday, April 3d. Our road for the whole day lay along the shore, with high mountains at our left, composed chiefly of dark gray granite with now and then a crest of sandstone upon the top of the ridge. We were mounted and upon our way at half past 5 o'clock. The rising sun threw his mellow beams upon the transparent waters of the Gulf; and the eastern mountains, lighted up by his rays, presented a fine picture of dark jagged peaks and masses. At the end of an hour the path passed close to the rocks, which are here sandstone. Ten minutes further a small Wady came down from the mountains, for which our guides knew no name; around it were low hills of conglomerated granite. At $7\frac{1}{4}$ o'clock we passed the small Wady Um Hâsh of Burckhardt; a line of chalk was visible at the foot of the hills, which were crested with sandstone. Just at the edge of the water is an isolated rock called Mŭrbŭt Ka'ûd el-Wâsileh, on which in former times a watchman was stationed to observe all comers from the North. On seeing any one, it was his duty to ride to Nuweibi'a and make report. Half an hour further we passed the mouth of another Wady, called Muwâlih by Burckhardt, with a wide plain of gravel at its mouth.

We now had before us the high ridge running from S. W. to N. E. which terminates in the cape Râs el-Burka' or Abu Burka', the "Veil-cape," so called from its white appearance when seen at a distance. Along the southern side of this ridge lies a wide bay, to the shore of which we came at ten minutes past 8 o'clock. At $9\frac{1}{4}$ o'clock, we neared the S. W. end of the ridge of the promontory; and at 10 o'clock doubled the point of the cape, where it juts into the

sea and only admits a very narrow path along its base. This point is considerably lower than the ridge further back; it is a hill covered with drifts of white sand, apparently driven up from the sea, and looking at a distance like a chalky cliff. After passing the cape, we saw immediately the northern branch of the Tîh, presenting the same general appearance of a wall of horizontal strata as the southern branch, and terminating in a high headland which Burckhardt calls Râs Um Haiyeh; though Tuweileb knew no other name for it than et-Tîh. As far as to this headland, the general course of the shore was still N. N. E.

We now had a fine beach on our right, and recreated ourselves by walking along the shore and picking up the curious shells, which everywhere abound. The transparent green of the water was very inviting; indeed, nothing could look purer than the waves as they rolled in over the clean white sand. I could not resist the temptation; and lingering behind the company took a hasty but very refreshing bath. The mountains here retreat a little, leaving a plain of some width between them and the water. At $11\frac{1}{2}$ o'clock we came to a well of bad brackish water, marked by a few palm-trees, and called, like so many others, Abu Suweirah. From this point we began to approach more nearly the end of the northern Tîh; which comes tumbling down towards the sea in immense masses apparently of yellow sandstone; but is intercepted by a range of granite cliffs between it and the shore, running from S. S. W. to N. N. E. which again are capped with red sandstone. We reached the S. W. end of these cliffs at 1 o'clock. A steep slope of gravel extends from them down to the water; on a part of which three gazelles were feeding, which on seeing us bounded off fleetly and gracefully.

At half past 2 o'clock Wady el-Muhâsh came down

through the cliffs, having before it an immense bed of gravel. Looking up through its gap, we could see the masses of the Tîh on the right beyond. This is probably the spot where Burckhardt's guide, old 'Aîd, so resolutely went for water.[1] An hour afterwards, at 3½ o'clock, we were opposite the end of the Tîh, or Râs Um Haiyeh, which does not project into the sea, though a bay flows up to its foot. Its height is about the same as the cliffs near Nuweibi'a. Further North the mountains become lower. We now entered again upon a broad gravel slope lying before Wady Mukŭbbeleh north of et-Tîh, the mouth of which we passed at 4 o'clock. It is here broad; but one can look up through it far into the mountains, where it is quite narrow. Three quarters of an hour further on, a rocky promontory at the foot of a bay, (the Jebel Sherâfeh of Burckhardt,) presented a very narrow and difficult pass; in traversing which one of the camels fell and came near rolling into the sea. The animal had to be unloaded in order to rise; and several of the things were wet. Meantime we had gone on and encamped at 5 o'clock in the broad Wady el-Huweimirât, which here comes down from the N. W. and was full of herbs.

The shore during the whole journey of to-day, was strewed with innumerable shells of every variety and size, from the smallest up to those weighing several pounds. They were however mostly broken and of no further value. Occasionally the sandy beach was paved or rather incrusted, with a conglomerate of debris and shells, evidently formed by the action of the sea-water. The shore was everywhere dotted with small tracks, which the Arabs said were made by a species of shell-fish, that comes upon the land every night and returns to the sea in the morning. We

1) Travels, p. 503.—This name would more regularly be written *'Îd.*

afterwards saw many crabs of various species running briskly upon the shore. One curious little animal was very frequent; a species of shrimp or minute lobster, that had taken possession of convolute shells, in which he had made himself at home; and protruding his head and legs, ran about in great numbers, carrying his shell with him. He was evidently a foreigner; for though his body had grown to the shape of the shell, yet the shells were all old and some of them broken. The little fellow was not in any way attached to his shell; and when drawn out, would run away. Some also had outgrown their shells.

From the headland of the Tîh northwards, the general direction of the western coast is N. E. to its extremity. This of course contracts the breadth of the Gulf more and more the nearer it approaches 'Akabah; as the eastern coast apparently continues nearly on a straight line. Immediately beyond the valley in which we encamped, are two promontories running out for some distance into the sea; not high, but terminating in rocks; so that loaded camels cannot easily pass around them. The southernmost, called el-Mudâreij, is the shortest and most difficult; and between them is a broad valley.

The mountains on the opposite or eastern coast, were here low; and a narrow sloping plain seemed to intervene between them and the sea. A place called Hakl, the first station of the Haj after 'Akabah (mentioned also by Edrîsi) was visible near the coast, bearing S. E.$\frac{1}{2}$S. It is in a Wady called el-Mebrŭk, having many palm-trees. Here the route of the Haj turns more inland. The tract of mountains between Hakl and 'Akabah is inhabited by the Arabs 'Amrân; while those further South are the seat of the tribe called Mesâ'îd, a subdivision (*Fendeh*) of the Haweitât.

Wednesday, April 4th. The promontories before

us compelled us to take a back route, so as to cross their ridges higher up. We set off at a quarter after six, passing up Wady el-Huweimirât for ten minutes N. N. W. and then turning into a narrower side Wady on a course N. E. Twenty minutes more brought us to the foot of a steep pass leading over to the next valley. The path is very narrow, ascending along the face of the sandstone rock, and seemed to be in part artificial. One camel again fell, and began to give out. We reached the top at 6^h 50′, and descended gradually to the broad valley between the two promontories; where we stopped at a quarter past 7 for twenty minutes, to adjust the loads, and leave the tired camel free. The poor animal was however too far gone, and died the same night.

This Wady our Arabs called also el-Huweimirât, although not connected with the former one of that name.[1] It descends rapidly to the sea, which is not far off; and Burckhardt appears to have followed down this valley and passed around the second promontory, which he describes as composed of black basaltic cliffs, into which the sea has worn several small creeks like little lakes, full of fish and shells. Here Laborde found a bed of oysters. It seems also to have been in this valley, that Burckhardt on his return was attacked by robbers. Our guides preferred to avoid this promontory also by a back route. Crossing therefore the Wady, we continued on the same course up a side-valley; and came at 7^h 55′ to the top of another pass, from which the descent was more steep and rugged than any thing we had yet met with. This brought us at $8\frac{1}{4}$ o'clock into Wady Merâkh,[2] which we followed down E. N. E. to the sea. It is broad and barren; and further down another

1) In like manner Burckhardt apparently gives the name Mezârîk to both; though incorrectly.

2) Wady Emrag of Rüppell; the name being less corrupted than is often the case with that traveller.

large branch joins it from the N. W. bearing the same name. The two open broadly together upon the sea, over an immense bed or slope of gravel, forming quite a promontory. We came out upon the slope at half past nine. Towards the sea is a palm-tree, and a little further North another. There was said also to be brackish water in the vicinity. Here some fishermen were encamped in two or three black tents, with a few goats. One of them brought us a Beden (as he called it) which he had shot; we bought it for five Piastres, instead of the twenty which he asked; but it turned out to be a gazelle. We were now in the territory of the Haiwât; that of the Tawarah and Terâbîn extending only to the northern Tîh.

This is doubtless the spot where Burckhardt was stopped on his way to 'Akabah, and compelled to turn back. As seen from here, every thing corresponds to his description;[1] the line of date-trees around the castle of 'Akabah bearing N. E. by E.; the promontory of Râs Kureiyeh (as he calls it); and the little island with ruins which his guides told him of, but which he did not see; having probably looked for it (as I did at first) further out in the Gulf, while it lies close in near the shore and directly under the eye. Burckhardt however calls the place not Wady Merâkh, but Wady Tâba'; and in general the names he mentions in this vicinity are so different from those we heard, or so differently applied, that for a long time we knew not what to make of it. We knew that old 'Aîd, Burckhardt's guide, must have been well acquainted with the country; and as there was no reason to suspect any deception on his part, we were inclined to distrust the accuracy of Tuweileb's information. On mentioning the discrepancy to Tuweileb, he said at once that 'Aîd knew better than he, and would not

1) Page 509.

tell a lie. Yet on his inquiring in our presence of the Arabs encamped on the spot, they confirmed the account which Tuweileb had already given. I am inclined therefore to charge the error to Burckhardt himself, or rather to the circumstances in which he was placed; for he says expressly, that for the two days he was in these parts he found no opportunity to take any notes.[1] It is not surprising, that in such a multitude of new names, not noted at the time, some should have been forgotten and others applied to wrong places. We here took leave for the present of this accomplished and lamented traveller; whose book hitherto had been our constant companion.[2]

Turning now to the left we descended obliquely on a N. E. course across the gravel slope, and at 9^h 40′ reached the shore of a little bay with a sandy beach. At 10 o'clock we were opposite the little island above mentioned, which we judged to be a quarter of a mile or more distant from the shore. It is merely a narrow granite rock some three hundred yards in length, stretching from N. W. to S. E. with two points or hillocks, one higher than the other, connected by a lower isthmus. On it are the ruins of an Arabian fortress with an embattled wall running around the whole, having two gateways with pointed arches. This is without any doubt the former citadel of Ailah, mentioned by Abulfeda as lying in the sea. In A. D. 1182 it was unsuccessfully besieged with ships, by the impetuous Rainald of Chatillon; and in Abulfeda's time (about A. D. 1300) it was already abandoned, and the governor transferred to the castle on the

1) Page 517.

2) Old 'Aîd, it seems, was quite a noted character in the peninsula. Tuweileb had known him, and all our Arabs had heard of him. They also knew Hamd, the other faithful and intrepid attendant of Burckhardt, who was of their clan, the Aulâd Sa'îd. He was still living as a poor man in Cairo; where he made it his business to procure fodder for camels.

shore.[1] The ruins therefore cannot well be referred to a period later than the twelfth century. Our Arabs called this island only el-Kurey, or el-Kureiyeh; the diminutive of a word which signifies a village, but which they also apply to the ruins of such a place. The Arabs of the eastern coast, according to Lieut. Wellsted, give it the name of Jezîrat Far'ôn, 'Pharaoh's Island.'[2] From the castle of 'Akabah it bears W. S. W.

Continuing our course we came in twenty minutes to the little Wady el-Kureiyeh, coming down from the left, so called from the island before it. Then followed the sand and stones of Wady el-Mezârîk, which we passed at $10\frac{3}{4}$ o'clock. Here low hills of sandstone and chalk interrupted the granite for a time. Further on, in the broad plain of Wady Tâba' we came at half past 11 o'clock to a brackish well, with many palm-trees. Among the latter was one tree of the species called *Dôm*, the Theban palm, so frequent in Upper Egypt. Here was also a large square hole dug in the ground, walled up with rough stones, like a cellar; in it had once been a well, but the bottom was now covered with young palm-trees. Higher up in the valley there was said to be better water.

Beyond this valley or plain, the granite rocks come down to the shore again, forming a long black promontory, called by Burckhardt Râs Kureiyeh, and by our guides Elteit; but the Arabs at 'Akabah gave it the name of Râs el-Musry, and said that Elteit was the name of a valley on the eastern coast. Ten minutes

1) Wilken Gesch. der Kreuzzüge III. ii. p. 222. Abulfed. Arab. in Geogr. vet. Scriptores, ed. Hudson, Oxon. 1712. Tom. III. p. 41. Schultens Ind. Geogr. in Vit. Salad. art. *Aila*. Rommel's Abulfeda, p. 78, 79. See more under *Ailah*, further on.

2) This island has been described by Lieut. Wellsted, Travels, II. pp. 140, 142, seq; also by Laborde and by Rüppell, Reisen in Nubien, p. 252. Both these travellers have given views of the ruins; that of Laborde is more elegant, and that of Rüppell more correct.

brought us to the side of this promontory running E. N. E. Our way led along its base; and we turned the extremity at a quarter past noon. Hence the little island bore S. 65° W. while the shore before us continued N. E. Just beyond this point, a valley called Wady el-Musry is said to come in; but we did not take note of it at the time. The mountains on the left here retire from the coast; and near it are only low hills of conglomerated sand and gravel, almost of the consistence of rock, and extending beyond the head of the Gulf. We now began to see the opening of the great valley el-'Arabah. The mountains on the East of it are high and picturesque; and a low spot in them marks the place of Wady el-Ithm. At 2 o'clock, we passed a small rock on the shore, with a heap of stones upon it, called Hajr el-'Alawy, 'Stone of the 'Alawy.' This Tuweileb said, was the ancient and proper boundary of the Tawarah in this quarter, separating them from the 'Alawîn; and here in former days, both men and beasts entering the territory of the Tawarah paid a tribute. At length, at a quarter past 2 o'clock, we reached the N. W. corner of the Gulf, and entered the great Haj road, which comes down from the western mountain and passes along the shore at the northern end of the sea. Just at this point we met a large caravan of the Haweitât coming from the eastern desert, whence they had been driven out by the drought. They were now wandering towards the South of Palestine, and had with them about seventy camels and many asses, but no flocks. These were the first real Arabs of the desert we had seen; not wearing the turban like the Tawarah, but decorated with the *Kefîyeh*, a handkerchief of yellow or some glaring colour thrown over the head, and bound fast with a skein of woollen yarn; the corners being left loose and hanging down the sides of the face and neck.

They were wild, savage, hungry-looking fellows; and we thought we had much rather be with our mild Tawarah than in their power. Tuweileb held a parley with them, which detained us fifteen minutes.

From this point, which we left at $2\frac{1}{2}$ o'clock, the N. shore of the Gulf runs S. E. almost in a straight line nearly to the castle of 'Akabah. The general course of Wady el-'Arabah, taken about the middle, is here N. N. E. Its width at this end is about four geogr. miles; farther North it is wider. The mountains on either side are high; those on the West fifteen to eighteen hundred feet, and those on the East two thousand to twenty-five hundred feet. The valley was full of sand-drifts as far as the eye could reach; and seemed to have little or no acclivity towards the North. The torrents, which in the rainy season stream into it from the adjacent mountains, flow along its western side, so far as they are not absorbed by the sand; and enter the sea at the N. W. corner. There is no appearance of a water-course in any other part of the valley. Along the shore from this point nearly to the castle, the waters of the Gulf have cast up an unbroken bank of sand and gravel which is higher than the level of the Wady, and would prevent the passage of any stream. On the North of the path, towards the western side, a large tract has the appearance of moist marshy ground, seemingly impregnated with nitre, and looking as if water had recently been standing upon it; which sinking or drying away, had left an incrustation on many portions of the surface. This tract is mostly naked of vegetation; yet the parts in the vicinity are full of shrubs, chiefly of the Ghŭrkŭd; and seen from a distance, the ground appears as if covered with a luxuriant vegetation. This however vanishes on a nearer approach. We looked in vain in the western part of the valley for

traces of ruins of any kind; we had hoped to find something by which to fix a site for Ezion-geber. Towards the eastern side and around the castle is a large grove of palm-trees, extending both ways for some distance along the shore.

At 3^h 40′ we reached the end of the straight part of the shore, which here takes a direction due S. for perhaps half an hour; when it again curves around S. S. W. to the general line of the eastern coast. At this point the extensive mounds of rubbish, which mark the site of Ailah, the Elath of Scripture, were on our left. They present nothing of interest, except as indicating that a very ancient city has here utterly perished. We did not learn that they have now a name. Further E. than these, beyond a gully coming down from the eastern mountain, are the ruins of an Arab village, mere walls of stone once covered probably with flat roofs of palm-leaves, like the dwellings now just around the castle. Many of the palm-trees are here enclosed in reservoirs, in order to retain the water of the rainy season around them. At 3^h 50′ we reached the castle, and entered the huge portal from the N. W. through strong and massive doors heavily cased with iron; the whole passage-way being lined with many Arabic inscriptions.

The castle is an oblong quadrangle of high thick walls, with a tower or bastion at each of the four corners.[1] All around the wall on the inside is a row of chambers or magazines one story high, with a solid flat roof, forming a platform around the interior of the castle. On this platform are erected in several parts temporary huts or chambers, covered with the stalks of palm-leaves, and occupied apparently by the garrison as dwellings. We did not learn the time when

1) A view of the castle of 'Akabah is given by Rüppell and by Laborde.

the fortress was built; the date is doubtless contained in some of the numerous inscriptions; but we were so much taken up with other matters, that this point was overlooked. Burckhardt says it was erected, as it now stands, by the Sultan el-Ghûry of Egypt in the sixteenth century. This is not improbable; though I am not aware of the authority on which the assertion rests. The garrison consisted at this time of thirty-three undisciplined soldiers, Mughâribeh or Western Africans, as they were called, but actually Bedawîn from Upper Egypt. In command of these were a Captain of the Gate, a Gunner, a Wakîl or Commissary, and over all a Governor.

As we entered the fortress, the governor was sitting in the open air on a bench or platform under the windows of a room near the S. W. corner of the court. He received us with apathetic civility, invited us to sit upon his platform, ordered coffee, and meantime read the letters which we had brought from Habîb Effendi and the governor of Suez. He was a young man, who had been here only four or five months; his predecessor having been recalled, it was said, on account of incivility to former travellers. There was therefore in his whole demeanour towards us, now and afterwards, an air of studied endeavour, not indeed to please and gratify us, but so to conduct as to avoid complaint and future censure. The room before which he was sitting, was assigned to us; it seemed to be his usual hall of audience, with coarse gratings for windows, but no glass. Here our luggage was deposited, and we spread our beds; and as the walls of the room were of stone and the floor of earth, and cold, we escaped the usual annoyance from bugs and fleas, for which the place is famous. Scorpions are also said to be in plenty here; but we saw none of them. They are caught by cats, of which there are great numbers

in the castle, as we found at night to our cost.—Our Tawarah with their camels betook themselves for the night without the walls.

We were yet sitting and chatting with the governor, when it was discovered that the palm-leaf roof of one of the huts overagainst us had caught fire; and suddenly it burst out into a terrific blaze, rising along and above the wall of the castle. All was now confusion and clamour and hurrying to and fro; the governor forgot his pipe, his slippers, and his dignity, and rushed eagerly among the crowd, distributing his orders, to which no man listened; while to heighten the alarm, it was now announced that the powder-magazine of the fortress was directly under the flames. Fortunately there was nothing but stone-work in the vicinity, and water in plenty was near; so that the fire was soon extinguished with little damage, after vast clamour and uproar among the Arabs. We were not able to satisfy ourselves, whether the story of the powder had any foundation or not.

We now withdrew to our room, and endeavoured to make use of the time for writing; but the idea of our wishing to be alone was incomprehensible to our new friends; and we might as well have set ourselves down in the middle of the court. My companion wishing to speak with the governor by himself, sought him out in his private room, and found him less reserved and more friendly than he had been in public. Indeed, it is well understood that all the officers mentioned above are only spies upon each other; and the governor had regulated his demeanour in public accordingly. Meantime, as our spokesman was absent, our own apartment was left more in quiet.

In the evening we were invited by the governor to coffee in his private room, up one flight of stairs near the S. W. bastion. The room was small and

entirely naked, with a floor of earth and a roof of the stalks of palm-leaves. In one corner was a wooden bench or platform about three feet high, on which were his carpet and cushions; in another part a little basin or hearth for making coffee; and these with one or two mats on the floor made up the furniture. We were admitted to his divân; others who came in, took their places on the mats or squatted down on their feet. This *soirée* was well meant, but proved to be rather tedious.

In coming by the way of 'Akabah, it had been our plan to proceed directly to Wady Mûsa, either along the 'Arabah, or through the eastern mountains, and thence to Hebron; and we had been habitually led to look upon this place as perhaps the most critical point in our whole journey. The country between it and Wady Mûsa, including the 'Arabah, is in possession of the 'Alawîn, a branch or clan of the great tribe Haweitât; who of course have the right of conducting all travellers passing through their territory. They are a lawless tribe, standing in no good repute among their neighbours; and their Sheikh Husein has of late years become especially notorious among travellers, as faithless and mean-spirited.[1] We therefore anticipated difficulty and much petty annoyance and imposition, both here and on our way to Hebron; though we knew that the fear of the Pasha would exempt us from all open attempts upon our person or property. We had never thought of taking any other route. We now learned, however, that Husein and his tribe were encamped at the distance of two days' journey from 'Akabah, near Ma'ân; and that it would require at least four days' time to get him here; besides the delay

1) This is the same person whom Schubert calls "Emir Salem of Gaza, the great Sheikh of the Araba;" Reise. etc. II. p. 394. We heard nothing of any such name or attributes.

that would be incident to making a bargain and other preparations for the further journey. If therefore we sent for him, we must be content to wait here pent up in the fortress for five or six days, without employment or interest, and exposed to perpetual annoyance from Arab curiosity and official impertinence.

The idea of such a loss of time was insupportable; and we looked about for some way of escaping at a less expense from this castle, which we already began to dread in anticipation as a prison-house. Our Tawarah could not take us to Wady Mûsa without invading the rights of another tribe, and exposing themselves to reprisals; but both they and the governor said they could carry us across the western desert to Gaza or the vicinity, without danger of being interfered with by any one. On further inquiry, we found also that the same route would lead us to Gaza or Hebron, as we pleased; and we need not decide for either until we should approach the confines of Palestine. The journey, it was said, would occupy five or six days. As this was a route for the most part hitherto untrodden by any modern traveller, and we should thus avoid delay and all necessity of intercourse with the 'Alawîn, we determined (if possible) to make a new contract with our faithful Tawarah, and proceed in this direction; leaving a visit to Wady Mûsa to be afterwards connected with our contemplated excursion to the south end of the Dead Sea. On inquiring of the Tawarah, they expressed a willingness to go with us; but, taking their tone from the atmosphere of the castle, or from what they had heard of the 'Alawîn, they demanded for each camel two hundred Piastres for the journey; a larger sum than we had paid them for the whole distance from Cairo to this place. So the matter rested for the night.

Thursday, April 5th. Forenoon. This morning the

negotiation was resumed with an offer of one hundred and twenty Piastres on our part, and a demand from the Arabs of one hundred and seventy, which they afterwards abated to one hundred and fifty. As they were sitting with us to talk the matter over, the governor came in with his attendants and cushions; and seating himself, ordered coffee to be made and served round. Our own breakfast was now brought; and our own Arabs had the tact to go away. The governor and his attendants remained; but declined partaking of the meal to which we invited them, except so far as to drink a cup of tea. They afterwards withdrew; and our Arabs again took up the negotiation. After long and grave discussion, the result was, that the intermediate sum of one hundred and thirty-five Piastres was agreed to by both parties. In the place of the dead camel, one of Tuweileb's was to carry a load; and we undertook to furnish provisions for the men upon the way. This was no great matter, for their wants are few and their palates not difficult. Bread and rice are luxuries which they seldom enjoy; and of these we had an ample supply. The commissary in the castle had also a few stores for sale, at enormous prices; but we bought little except a supply of lentiles or small beans, which are common in Egypt and Syria under the name of *'Adas;* the same from which the pottage was made for which Esau sold his birthright. We found them very palatable, and could well conceive, that to a weary hunter, faint with hunger, they might be quite a dainty.[1]

While these negotiations were going on, I took a stroll alone without the walls along the shore. The castle is situated quite at the eastern part of Wady el-'Arabah, on the gravel slope which here rises from

1) Gen. xxv. 34. The name in Hebrew and Arabic is the same.

the water towards the eastern mountain. Directly back of the castle the mountain is high, and bears the name of Jebel el-Ashhab; but further S. the hills near the coast become much lower. The slope back of the castle is cut up with gullies from mountain-torrents; without however presenting any large and distinct water-course. Wady el-Ithm enters the 'Arabah further North on the same side; and I was disappointed in not finding anywhere in the latter valley, more traces of the waters which must rush into it during the rainy season. Indeed very little water would seem to flow along it into the Gulf; the greater part being probably absorbed by the sand.

On the shore I tried the experiment which both Rüppell and Laborde mention, of obtaining fresh water by digging holes in the sand when the tide is out. It was in part successful; though less so than I had been led to expect from their accounts. On digging a hole with the hands, it gradually filled with water, which at first was salt; but when this was removed, the hole again became slowly filled with fresh water. The Arabs had dug several larger holes just by, in which fresh water was standing. The language of Laborde seems to imply, that the chief supply of water for the fortress is obtained in this way; but this is not the case; as there is a large well within the walls, only fifteen or twenty feet deep, which furnishes an abundance of good water. There are also other like wells in the vicinity of the fortress. Indeed the fresh water on the shore is apparently on about the same level with the bottom of these wells; and the supply of both probably comes from water, that filters its way down from the eastern mountain under the gravel which here forms a slope quite to the sea. This appearance of water is confined to the shore near the castle; for I repeated the same experiment afterwards in several places

towards the middle of Wady el-'Arabah without the slightest success.

Immediately around the fortress, several families of the Arabs 'Amrân have taken up their abode, and built themselves huts of stone,—long low rude hovels, roofed only with the stalks of palm-leaves. The proper territory of the tribe commences here, and includes the mountains further S. and S. E.; but these appeared to be a sort of dependants on the castle, employed in its service as menials. The number would seem to have been formerly much greater; as dwellings of the same kind in ruins extend N. W. nearly to the mounds of Ailah. Half an hour S. of the fortress, in the mouth of the Wady Elteit, is the ruin of a small Arab fort or castle, called Kŭsr el-Bedawy; which may perhaps have served for the protection of the Haj or caravan of pilgrims before the present larger one was built.—According to Rüppell's observations, the castle of 'Akabah lies in Lat. 29° 30′ 58″ N. and Long. 32° 40′ 30″ E. from Paris, or 35° 0′ 54″ E. from Greenwich.[1] From it the little island of Kureiyeh with its ruins bears W. S. W. at the distance of eight or ten miles.

On returning into the fortress at 10 o'clock, I found all our own preparations completed; and we wished to set off without delay. But as we were about to take a route which our Tawarah had never travelled, it was necessary to have with us a guide acquainted with the country. With such an one the governor un-

1) See Berghaus' Memoir zu seiner Karte von Syrien, pp. 28, 30.—This gives the difference of Longitude between 'Akabah and Suez at 2° 29′ 21″. The Longitude of 'Akabah given by Moresby on his Chart of the Red Sea is 35° 6′ E. from Greenwich, equal to 32° 45′ 36″ E. from Paris; and differing from the specification of Rüppell by more than 5 minutes. But the distance between 'Akabah and Suez on the same chart is in like manner only 2° 29′; so that a like variation is found at both places. Hence, as the Longitude of Suez has been several times determined, Rüppell's specification at 'Akabah is to be preferred; especially as that of Moresby was reckoned by chronometer from Bombay.

dertook to furnish us; and besides, he went very methodically to work, and gave and took papers to secure both himself and us. These were: *First*, an acknowledgement from us, that he had fulfilled to our satisfaction the requisitions contained in the letter of Habîb Effendi. *Second*, a *Tezkirah* or protection for us, stating all the circumstances of the case, and that no one had a right to interfere with our journey, and forbidding all interference.[1] *Third*, a pledge from our Tawarah Arabs for our safe-conduct to Gaza, etc. The preparation of these papers, the instructions to the guide, the loading of the camels, and the like, occupied the whole time till 1 o'clock P. M.

As we were leaving the castle, we tendered as a matter of course to the governor a present, such as experience had shown us to be about 'the thing.' He declined it however for himself, with the remark, that the other three officers were also accustomed to receive presents. My companion replied, that we had had nothing to do with them, and had not even seen them all; yet if he chose to divide the money among them, we had no objection; or if he would tell us how much more was necessary, and would give us a receipt to be shown to the Consul in Cairo, theys hould have it. But this he did not seem much to relish, and ran shuffling after us in his slippers to return the money; probably thinking it was not enough to satisfy all his brother spies. Indeed we found the whole establishment to be a nest of harpies; and were heartily glad to quit the castle. Yet, for a traveller who has a bargain to make with the 'Alawîn, it might be well to propitiate all these dignitaries by presents of small articles of dress, such as a cap, handkerchief, or the like, rather

1) This paper is so curious in its details, that I give a translation of it in Note XIX, at the end of the volume.

than money; for they can be of great assistance to him in dealing with these most faithless of the Bedawîn.

Just before setting off, we saw in one corner the process of manufacturing the goats'-hair cloth of which the common Arab cloaks are made. A woman had laid her warp along the ground for the length of several yards, and sat at one end of it under a small shed, with a curtain before her to ward off the eyes of passers-by. She wove by passing the woof through with her hand, and then driving it up with a flat piece of board having a thin edge.

In very ancient times there lay at this extremity of the Eastern Gulf of the Red Sea, two towns of note in Scripture history, Ezion-geber and Elath. The former is mentioned first, as a station of the Israelites, from which they returned to Kadesh probably a second time; and both towns are again named after that people had left Mount Hor, as the point where they turned eastward from the Red Sea in order to pass around on the eastern side of the land of Edom.[1] That they were near each other is also said expressly in another place.[2]

Ezion-geber became famous as the port where Solomon, and after him Jehoshaphat, built fleets to carry on a commerce with Ophir.[3] Josephus says it lay near Ælana, and was afterwards called Berenice.[4] But it is mentioned no more; and no trace of it seems now to remain; unless it be in the name of a small

1) Num. xxxiii. 35. xxi. 4. Deut. ii. 8, "by way of the plain [which extends] from Elath and Ezion-geber." The Hebrew word here translated 'plain' is *'Arabah*, the same as the present Arabic name of the great valley.

2) 1 Kings ix. 26, "Ezion-geber which is beside [or at] Elath, on the shore of the Red Sea." Compare 2 Chron. viii. 17, 18.

3) See the preceding Note; also 1 Kings xxii. 49. [48.]

4) Antiq. VIII. 6. 4.

Wady with brackish water, el-Ghŭdyân, opening into el-'Arabah from the western mountain some distance North of 'Akabah.[1]

Elath, called by the Greeks and Romans Ailah and Ælana, appears to have supplanted by degrees its less fortunate neighbour; perhaps after having been rebuilt by Azariah (Uzziah) about 800 B. C. Some fifty years later it was taken from the Jews by Rezin king of Syria, and never came again into their possession.[2] The notices of this city found in Greek and Roman writers, are fully collected in the great works of Cellarius and Reland.[3] In the days of Jerome it was still a place of trade to India; and a Roman legion was stationed here. Theodoret a little later remarks, that it had formerly been a great emporium, and that ships in his time sailed from thence to India.[4] Ailah became early the seat of a Christian church; and the names of four bishops of Ailah are found in various councils from A. D. 320 to A. D. 536.[5] In the sixth century also, Procopius speaks of its being inhabited by Jews under the Roman dominion.[6] A few *Notitia* of ecclesiastical and other writers, which mention Ailah, refer also to this period.[7] But when in A. D. 630, Muhammed had carried his victorious arms northward as far as to Tebûk, it was the signal for the Christian communities of Arabia Petraea to submit voluntarily to the conqueror, and obtain peace by the payment

1) However different the names el-Ghŭdyân and Ezion may be in appearance, yet the letters in Arabic and Hebrew all correspond. The name *'Asyûn* mentioned by Makrizi, (as quoted by Burckhardt, p. 511,) seems merely to refer to the ancient city, of which he had heard or read.—Schubert suggests that the little island Kureiyeh may have been the site of Ezion-geber; but this, as we have seen, is merely a small rock in the sea, 300 yards long. Reise, etc. II. p. 379.

2) 2 Kings xiv. 22. xvi. 6.

3) Cellarius Notit. Orb. II. p. 582, seq. Reland Palaestina, p. 554, seq.

4) Hieron. Onomast. art. *Ailath.* Theodoret Quaest. in Jer. xlix.

5) Le Quien Oriens Christ. III. p. 759. Reland Pal. p. 556.

6) Procop. de Bell. Pers. I. 19.

7) See these collected in Reland's Palaest. pp. 215—230.

of tribute. Among these was John, the Christian ruler of Ailah, who became bound to pay an annual tribute of three hundred gold pieces.[1]

From this time onward, Ailah became lost under the shroud of Muhammedan darkness; from which it has fully emerged only during the present century. It is simply mentioned by the supposed Ibn Haukal perhaps in the eleventh century; and after the middle of the twelfth, Edrîsi describes it as a small town frequented by the Arabs, who were now its masters, and forming an important point in the route between Cairo and Medîneh.[2] In A. D. 1116 King Baldwin I. of Jerusalem with two hundred followers made an excursion to the Red Sea; took possession of Ailah which he found deserted; and was restrained from advancing to Sinai only by the entreaties of the monks.[3] It was again wrested from the hands of the Christians by Saladin in A. D. 1167, and never again fully recovered by them; although the reckless Rainald of Chatillon in A. D. 1182 seized upon the town for a time, and laid siege unsuccessfully to the fortress in the sea.[4] In Abulfeda's day, and before A. D. 1300, it was already deserted; for this writer expressly says of Ailah: "In our day it is a fortress, to which a governor is sent from Egypt. It had a small castle in the sea; but this is now abandoned, and the governor removed to the fortress on the shore."[5] Such as Ailah was in the days of Abulfeda, is 'Akabah now. Mounds

1) Abulfedae Annales Muslemici, ed. Adler, 1789. Tom. I. p. 171. Ritter Gesch. des Petr. Arab. in Abhandl der Berl. Acad. 1826, Hist. phil. Cl. p. 219.

2) Ouseley's Ebn Haukal, pp. 37, 41. Edrîsi, ed. Jaubert, Tom. I. pp. 328, 332.

3) Fulcher. Carnot. 43. Gesta Dei, p. 611. Will. Tyr. XI. 29. Comp. Wilken Gesch. der Kreuzz. II. p. 403. See also p. 187 above.—The historians of the crusades call the place *Helim*, and mistook it for the Elim of Scripture.

4) Wilken Gesch. der Kreuzz. III. ii. pp. 139, 222.

5) Abulfedae Arabia, in Geogr. vet. Scriptores min. ed. Hudson, Oxon. 1712, Tom. III. p. 41. Schultens Index Geogr. in Vit. Saladini, art. *Ailah*.

of rubbish alone mark the site of the town; while a fortress, as we have seen, occupied by a governor and a small garrison under the Pasha of Egypt, serves to keep the neighbouring tribes of the desert in awe, and to minister to the wants and protection of the annual Egyptian Haj. Shaw and Niebuhr only heard of 'Akabah; Seetzen and Burckhardt attempted in vain to reach it; and the first Frank who has visited it personally in modern times, was Rüppell in A. D. 1822.[1] For the last ten years, there has been no lack of European visitors.

The modern name 'Akabah, signifying a descent or steep declivity, is derived from the long and difficult descent of the Haj-route from the western mountain. This pass is called by Edrîsi *'Akabat Ailah.*[2] It is sometimes also termed el-'Akabah el-Musrîyeh, the Egyptian 'Akabah, in distinction from el-'Akabah esh-Shâmîyeh or the Syrian 'Akabah, a similar pass on the route of the Syrian Haj about a day's journey eastward from this end of the Red Sea.[3]

Ailah or 'Akabah has always been an important station upon the route of the Egyptian Haj; the great caravan of pilgrims which annually leaves Cairo for Mecca. Such indeed is the importance of this caravan both in a religious and political respect, that the rulers of Egypt from the earliest period have given it convoy and protection. For this purpose, a line of fortresses similar to that of 'Akabah has been established at intervals along the route; with wells of water, and supplies of provision for the pilgrims of the Haj. At these

1) Shaw's Travels, 4to, p. 321. Niebuhr's Beschr. von Arab. p. 400. Seetzen in Zach's Monatl. Corresp. XXVII. p. 65. Burckhardt's Travels, etc. p. 508. Rüppell's Reisen in Nubien, etc. p. 248.

2) Edrîsi Geogr. Clim. III. § 5. p. 1; or Tom. I. p. 332, ed. Jaubert. The assertion of Niebuhr, that 'Akabah is also called *Häle* by the Bedawîn, I must regard as doubtful; Beschr. von Arab. p. 400.

3) Burckhardt's Travels, etc. p. 658.

castles the caravan regularly stops, usually for two days. The first fortress on the route is 'Ajrûd; the second Nŭkhl on the high desert North of Jebel et-Tîh; the third 'Akabah; and a fourth at Muweilih or Mawâlih, on the coast of the Red Sea outside of the entrance of the Gulf of 'Akabah. From 'Akabah the route follows the eastern shore of the Gulf a long day's journey to Hakl. In this part the road leads around a promontory, where the space between the mountain and the sea is so narrow, that only one camel can pass at a time. It is considered very dangerous. Before reaching Hakl there is also a place with palm-trees called Daher el-Humr. At Hakl the route leaves the shore, and passing through the mountains that here skirt the Gulf, continues along the eastern side of them to Muweilih. Further than this, none of the Arabs we met with were acquainted with the road.

In the intervals between these fortresses, there are certain regular stations or halting-places, often without water, where the caravan stops for a shorter time for rest and refreshment. The various tribes of Bedawîn through whose territory the route passes, are held responsible for its safety between certain fixed points. They have the prescriptive right of furnishing a convoy or escort for the Haj during its march between those points; and most of them receive for this service a certain amount of toll from the caravan.[1]

1) A list of the fourteen stations of the Haj, as far as to Muweilih, as also the parts of the route allotted for convoy to the different Arab tribes, is given in Note XX, at the end of the volume.

SECTION V.

FROM 'AKABAH TO JERUSALEM.

Thursday, April 5th, 1838. *Afternoon.* Having at last made all our arrangements, we left the castle of 'Akabah at a quarter past 1 o'clock P. M., and were as happy as any Bedawîn to be in the desert again. From 'Akabah two roads lead across the western desert towards Gaza or Hebron; one said to be difficult, passing along the 'Arabah for some distance, and ascending the western mountain further North; the other following the Haj-route to the top of the western ascent, and then striking off across the desert to the right. We took the latter as the easiest. Instead of one guide, we now found we had two; both of them 'Amrân dependants on the castle and born in its vicinity. They were instructed by the governor in our presence to conduct us in safety as far as to Wady el-Abyad, near the fork of the roads to Gaza and Hebron. The eldest was called Sâlim; both were tolerably intelligent; but they were dark thievish looking fellows, not to be compared with our Tawarah.

Our course lay along the head of the Gulf on the Haj-road by which we had come yesterday. At 2^h 40′ we reached the foot of the western ascent, where the hills of conglomerate, which we had passed yesterday further South, sink down into a steep slope of gravel, extending far to the North. This we ascended about W. N. W. and at 3^h 25′ crossed the shallow Wady

Khurmet el-Jurf, which runs down towards the right; and then came among low hills of crumbled granite. Beyond these there is again an open gravel slope in some parts, before reaching the higher granite cliffs. At 4 o'clock we encamped on the side of the mountain, in a narrow branch of the same water-course, called Wady edh-Dhaiyikah.

From this elevated spot we had a commanding view out over the Gulf, the plain of el-'Arabah, and the mountains beyond. The castle bore from this point S. E. by E. Behind it rose the high mountain el-Ashhab; and back of this, out of sight, is el-Hismeh, a sandy tract surrounded by mountains. But no one of our guides knew this latter name as a general appellation for these mountains.[1] At the S. end of Ashhab, the small Wady Elteit comes down to the sea, having in it the ruin Kŭsr el-Bedawy, bearing from here S. 40° E. More to the S. the hills along the eastern coast are lower, having the appearance of table-land; while further back are high mountains, and among them the long ridge en-Nukeirah. These extend far to the South, and there take the place of the lower hills along the coast. North of the castle the large Wady el-Ithm comes down steeply from the N. E. through the mountains; forming the main passage from 'Akabah to the eastern desert. By this way doubtless the Israelites ascended from the Red Sea in order to "compass Edom," and pass on to Moab and the Jordan. Wady el-Ithm now bore E. 1° S. while a mountain further North called Jebel el-Ithm bore E. 1° N. Then a smaller Wady comes down named es-Sidr. To the northward of this was Jebel esh-Sha'-

1) See Burckhardt, pp. 433, 440. Yet the mountains adjacent to this tract may not improbably have been spoken of as Tûr Hismeh; as appears also from Burckhardt, p. 444. Laborde, p. 63. (218.)

feh, N. 70° E.; and still further North our guides professed to point out Jebel esh-Sherâh, bearing N. 50° E. and separated from esh-Sha'feh by Wady Ghŭrŭndel. On this point, however, we had doubts.

Friday, April 6th. The bright morning presented a beautiful view of the sea, shut in among mountains like a lake of Switzerland. The eastern mountains too glittered in the sun; fine, lofty, jagged peaks, much higher than those we were to climb. We set off at 6 o'clock, ascending W. N. W. We soon reached the granite hills, and entering among them over a low ridge, descended a little to the small Wady er-Rizkah at 6^h 25′. It flows to the left into the Musry, within sight a little below. Passing another slight ridge, we reached Wady el-Musry at $6\frac{3}{4}$ o'clock. This is a large Wady coming down from the North obliquely along the slope of the mountain, and running down by itself to the sea, which it was said to enter just N. of Râs el-Musry. Our route now lay up along this valley, winding considerably, but on a general course about N. W. The ridge upon the left was of yellow sandstone resting on granite; while on the right was granite and porphyry. The scenery around was wild, desolate and gloomy; though less grand than we had seen already. At 7 o'clock limestone appeared on the left; and we turned short from the Musry towards the left, into a narrow chasm between walls of chalk with layers of flint. Ten minutes now brought us to the foot of the steep and difficult ascent; so that this last ravine might well be termed the Gate of the Pass. The ascent is called simply en-Nŭkb, or el-'Arkûb, both signifying "the Pass" up a mountain; and our guides knew no other name. The road rises by zigzags along the projecting point of a steep ridge, between two deep ravines. It is in part artificial; and in some places the thin layer of sandstone has been cut away twenty or

thirty feet in width down to the limestone rock. Portions of this work have probably been done at the expense of pious Mussulmans, to facilitate the passage of the Haj. Two Arabic inscriptions on the rock, one of them at the top of the ascent, apparently record the author of the work. Near the top is something like a modern improvement; a new road having been cut lower down on the side of the ridge, rising by a more gradual ascent. The whole road is said by Makrizi to have been first made by Ibn Ahmed Ibn Tulûn, Sultan of Egypt in A. D. 868–84.[1]

We reached the top of the steep ascent at 8 o'clock; but continued to rise gradually for half an hour longer, when we came to Râs en-Nŭkb, the proper "Head of the Pass." Here however we had immediately to descend again by a short but steep declivity, and cross the head of Wady el-Kureikireh running off S. to Wady Tâba', of which it would seem to be a main branch. Ascending again along a ridge at the head of this valley, still on a course W. N. W., we had on our right a deep ravine called Wady er-Riddâdeh, running eastward, a tributary of the Musry. At 9 o'clock we finally reached the top of the whole ascent, and found ourselves on the high level of the desert above. During the whole way, we had many commanding views of the Gulf and of el-'Arabah; which latter as seen from this distance seemed covered in parts with a luxuriant vegetation. But we had viewed it too closely to be thus deceived. The point where we now were, afforded the last, and one of the finest of these views. The castle of 'Akabah still bore S. E. by E. and the mouth of Wady el-Ithm E. by S. At 9^h 25′ we came to the fork of the roads, called Mufârik et-Turk, where the Haj-route keeps straight forward, while the road to Gaza

1) Makrizi, as cited by Burckhardt, p. 511.

turns more to the right. The former, so far as we had now followed it, bears every mark of a great public route. This pass is especially famous for its difficulty, and for the destruction which it causes to animals of burden. Indeed the path is here almost literally strewed with camels' bones, and skirted with the graves of pilgrims.

Having thus reached the level of the great western desert, we left the Haj-road, and setting our faces towards Gaza and Hebron, on a course N. W. we launched forth into the "great and terrible wilderness." We entered immediately upon an immense plain, called Kâ'a en-Nŭkb, extending far to the West, and apparently on so dead a level, that water would hardly flow along its surface. It has, however, as we found, a slight declivity towards the W. and N. W.; for on our left was the commencement of a shallow Wady called el-Khureity, running off in that direction. The plain, where we entered upon it, was covered with black pebbles of flint; then came a tract of indurated earth; and afterwards again similar pebbles. The whole plain was utterly naked of vegetation. The desert however could not be said to be pathless; for the many camel-tracks showed that we were on a great road. One of the first objects which here struck our view, was the *Mirage*, presenting the appearance of a beautiful lake on our left. We had not seen this phenomenon in the whole peninsula, nor since the day we left Suez; and I do not remember that we ever again had an instance of it.

On this high plain, we now found ourselves above all the peaks and hills through which we had just before ascended. We could overlook them all, and saw beyond them the summits of the eastern mountains, which the level of the plain, on which we were, seemed to strike at about two thirds of their altitude. From this and other circumstances, we judged the

elevation of this plain to be about fifteen hundred feet above the level of the Gulf and el-'Arabah.[1] Far in the South, ridges of high land were visible; and nearer at hand, at the distance of three or four hours, a range of high hills called Tawârif el-Belâd running from E. S. E. to W. N. W. the middle of which at $9\frac{1}{2}$ o'clock bore S. W. Further to the right lay a similar ridge, called Tŭrf er-Rukn, running in a direction about from S. S. E. to N. N. W. and highest towards the northern end, which bore at the same time N. 70° W. The Haj-route passes along at the northern base of this range; and S. W. of it is the well eth-Themed, from which water is obtained for the caravan.[2]

The plain we were crossing was terminated in this part towards the N. by a ridge of low dark-coloured granite hills, running off W. S. W. which we reached at 11 o'clock. This ridge, a similar one beyond, and the tract between, all bear the name of el-Humeirâ-wât. Passing through these hills, our course became N. N. W. for the remainder of the day. We now crossed another open plain, having at some distance on our left Wady el-Khureity. In some of the smaller water-courses were a few herbs and some Seyâl-trees. We passed the next range of hills before noon; and from it descended to Wady el-Khŭmîleh at 12^h 10′, a broad shallow depression coming from the right from near the brow of el-'Arabah, and full of herbs and shrubs. Towards the left a wide open tract of the

1) According to the barometrical measurements of Russegger, who crossed the desert from the Convent to Hebron a few months after us, the elevation of the castle Nŭkhl above the sea is 1496 Paris feet. This point is probably somewhat lower than the plain in question. See Berghaus' Annalen der Erdkunde, etc. Feb. und März, 1839. p. 429.

2) Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, etc. p. 448. This mountain is the Dharf el-Rokob of that traveller; but although we inquired much after this name, we could not make it out in this form. His guides were from the desert E. of the 'Arabah, and had perhaps another name or a different pronunciation. Rüppell gives it very corruptly the form Darfureck.

desert extended beyond the northern extremity of Tŭrf er-Rukn; and through this plain runs Wady Mukŭtta' et-Tawârik after having received the Khureity and other Wadys. The Mukŭtta' runs on northwesterly to join the Jerâfeh, which was continually spoken of as the great drain of all this part of the desert. The Khŭmîleh continued for a time parallel to our route. The smaller Wadys were now full of herbs, and gave to the plain the appearance of a tolerable vegetation, indicating that more rain had fallen here than further South in the peninsula. Far in the W. N. W. ridges apparently of limestone hills were visible, running from S. to N. At 12½ o'clock a small Wady called el-Erta crossed our path from the right and joined the Khŭmîleh. A low limestone ridge now lay before us, which we crossed through a gap at half past one; and came upon the broad sandy Wady or rather plain el-'Adhbeh, descending towards the left. On the northern side of this latter we encamped at 3 o'clock, not far from the foot of another similar ridge. From this point the high northern end of Tŭrf er-Rukn bore S. 60° W.

The weather had been all day cold, with a strong North wind; it was indeed the most wintry day I had experienced since entering Egypt. Our Arabs were shivering with the cold, and this induced us to encamp so early. They kindled large blazing fires; and at night, as they sat around them, the light flashing upon their swarthy features and wild attire, the scene was striking and romantic. The camels, like their masters, crouched and crowded around the fires, and added to the picturesque effect of the scene.

The general character of the desert on which we had now entered, is similar to that between Cairo and Suez,—vast and almost unbounded plains, a hard gravelly soil, irregular ridges of limestone hills in va-

rious directions, the *Mirage*, and especially the Wadys or water-courses. On reaching this high plateau, we were somewhat surprised to find all these Wadys running towards the N. W. and not towards the East into the 'Arabah, as we had expected from its near vicinity. To all this desert our Arabs gave the general name of et-Tîh, "Wandering," and said that the mountain ridge which skirts it on the South, takes the same name from the desert.[1]

This whole region, up to the present time, has been a complete *terra incognita* to geographers. Not that travellers had not already crossed it in various directions; for Seetzen in 1807 had gone from Hebron to the Convent of Sinai; and Henniker in 1821, and Bonomi and Catherwood and their party in 1833, had passed from the Convent to Gaza. Yet there exists only a meager record of all these journies, so meager indeed, that the respective routes can with difficulty be traced.[2] M. Linant was said also to have visited some parts of this desert; but has given no report. Burckhardt likewise crossed in 1812 from Wady Ghŭrŭndel and the 'Arabah to Nŭkhl and 'Ajrûd; but his notes are here less full than usual. Rüppell in 1822 explored the Haj-route to 'Akabah.[3] Of the road, therefore, which we were now to travel, there was no report extant; nor was I aware until after my return to Europe, that any portion of it had been followed by M. Callier in 1834.[4] We felt, consequently, that we were in part

1) The name et-Tîh as applied to this desert, is found in both Edrîsi and Abulfeda; who refer it to the wanderings of the children of Israel. Edrîsi par Jaubert, I. p. 360. Abulfed. Tab. Syr. ed. Köhler, p. 4, et Addenda. So too Ibn el-Wardi, ibid. p. 170.

2) Seetzen in Zach's Monatl. Corresp. XVII. p. 143, seq. Henniker's Notes, etc. p. 256, seq. Arundale's Tour to Jerusalem and Mount Sinai, 4to.—Arundale travelled in company with Bonomi and Catherwood.

3) Burckhardt's Travels, etc. p. 444, seq. Rüppell's Reisen in Nubien, etc. p. 241.

4) See his Letter to Letronne, Journal des Savans, Jan. 1836. I am not aware that any thing further has yet appeared.

treading on new ground; and although we expected to make no discoveries, (which indeed the very nature of the country in a measure forbade,) yet we felt it to be due to the interests of science, to take note of all that offered itself to our observation. On similar grounds, I hope to be pardoned by the reader, if the account of this journey should appear perhaps unnecessarily minute and tedious.

To us the journey was one of deep interest. It was a region into which the eye of geographical science had never yet penetrated; and which, as its name implies, was supposed to be the scene of the wanderings of the Israelites of old. Our feelings were strongly excited at this idea of novelty, and with the desire of exploring this "great wilderness;" so as to ascertain, if possible, whether there was any thing here to throw light on the darkness which hitherto has rested on this portion of Scriptural history. How far we were successful, the reader will learn, not from the account of this journey alone, but from this in connection with our subsequent excursion from Hebron to Wady Mûsa.

Saturday, April 7th. We set off at 6^h 10′, and continuing N. N. W. came in forty-five minutes to the top of the low limestone ridge before mentioned. Here another similar prospect opened on our view. Before us lay an almost level plain, covered with pebbles and black flints; beyond which, at a great distance, a lone conical mountain appeared directly ahead, at the base of which, it was said, our road would pass. This mountain is called Jebel 'Arâif en-Nâkah; and standing almost isolated in the midst of the desert, it forms a conspicuous landmark for the traveller. It here bore N. by W., and our course was directed towards it for the remainder of the day with little deviation. We could see low ridges extending from it

both on the eastern and western sides. That towards the East, at first low, becomes afterwards higher, and terminates at the eastern end in a bluff called el-Mŭkrâh. This latter is not very far from Wady el-'Arabah, as we saw at a later period. At the foot of this bluff, our Arabs said, is a spring of good living water, called esh-Shehâbeh or Shehâbîyeh.

In crossing the plain above mentioned, we had on our right a range of low hills running from S. to N. terminating in a low round mountain called es-Suweikeh, which at 8 o'clock bore N. E. ½ E., and again at 10 o'clock E. S. E. These hills, and the ascending slope towards the brow of el-'Arabah, prevented our seeing the mountains East of the great valley, either now or afterwards, except occasionally, and then very indistinctly.[1] On our left the plain extended almost to the horizon, where a low range of mountains (already mentioned) run northward from near Tŭrf er-Rukn, at the distance of six or eight hours from our path. For these our Arabs knew no other name than et-Tîh.[2] They said, this range formed the dividing line between the desert on the East, drained by the Jerâfeh, which runs to the 'Arabah; and the more western desert, drained by the great Wady el-'Arîsh running down to the Mediterranean.

At 9^h 10′ we were opposite Suweikeh, bearing E., and twenty minutes later crossed Wady el-Ghaidherah, here coming from the S. W. but afterwards sweeping round to the N. W. and again crossing our path to join the Jerâfeh. We passed it the second time at 10^h 40′ running N. W., where it continued for

1) According to Burckhardt, Jebel es-Suweikeh lies eight hours or more distant from the brow of the 'Arabah. He passed at the distance of two hours N. of this mountain, on a course towards Tŭrf er-Rukn. Travels in Syria, etc. pp. 444–8.

2) They would seem to be the continuation of the ridge which further south Burckhardt calls el-Öjmeh; p. 449.

some distance on the left parallel to our road. At 11¼ o'clock we found in it near our path a small pool of rain-water in a deep gully. It is one of the chief watering-places of the Arabs in these parts; and from the number of camels and flocks, which come here to drink, the water had acquired a strong smell, and was any thing but inviting. Yet as we had found no water on the way, nor were likely to meet with any for two or three days to come, the water-skins were filled amid the drinking of camels, goats, and dogs. We were thus detained three quarters of an hour. This kind of puddle is called Ghŭdhîr. A few tufts of grass were growing on the sides of the pool, the second time we had seen grass since leaving the region of the Nile. Several very old Tŭlh-trees were also scattered around. We found here a few Arabs of the Haweitât, stragglers from the party which had passed 'Akabah a few days before. They had charge of several milch-camels with their young; and seemed to have lingered behind their party on account of these. We were amused at the staid and sober demeanour of the young camels. Instead of the frisky playfulness and grace of other young animals, they had all the cold gravity and awkwardness of their dams.—From this point the cliff el-Mŭkrâh bore N. N. E.

Leaving the pool at noon, we soon saw Wady el-Jerâfeh upon the left, with many low trees, running for a time nearly parallel to the Ghaidherah. The two unite not far below, in sight of the road. At half past one, we reached the Jerâfeh, here coming from the S. S. W. and flowing off nearly N. E. towards el-'Arabah, which it enters a little to the right of the bluff el-Mŭkrâh. It was said to rise far to the South near the northern ridge of Jebel et-Tîh, and passes along on the eastern side of the ridge Tŭrf er-Rukn, apparently between that mountain and the ridge Tawârif el-Belâḳ; receiving on the East all the Wadys we had

crossed, and others in like manner from the West.[1] Indeed it is the great drain of all the long basin between the 'Arabah and the ridges west of Tŭrf er-Rukn, extending from Jebel et-Tîh on the South to the ridge between Jebel 'Arâif and el-Mŭkrâh on the North. The Jerâfeh exhibits traces of a large volume of water in the rainy season; and is full of herbs and shrubs, with many Seyâl and Tŭrfa-trees. At some distance from our path on the right, rain-water is found in holes dug in the ground, which are called Emshâsh.[2] We were greatly struck at the time with the singular conformation of this region, on the supposition that all the waters of this basin should be carried so far to the North, in order again to flow through the 'Arabah southwards to the Red Sea. We were at a loss to conceive how this could well take place, without leaving more traces of a water-course in the latter valley near 'Akabah. It was not until after several weeks and upon a different journey, that we ascertained the real circumstances of the case.

The country continued still of the same character. At 3 o'clock we passed Wady el-Ghubey, running E. N. E. to the Jerâfeh. Another tributary of the same, Wady Bŭtlihât, followed half an hour beyond. In this latter on the right of the road, is rain-water collected in pits called Themîleh. Another half hour brought us to the top of a gravelly ascent, from which we had a view of a more broken tract of country before us.

1) According to Lord Prudhoe's notes, the Jerâfeh is five and a half hours from Wady Ghureir on a S. E. course. From Burckhardt it appears that the N. end of Tŭrf er-Rukn is three and a half hours eastward of the same Wady Ghureir; pp. 448, 449. Our map is constructed according to these data; but exhibits the Jerâfeh as thus making a very large bend towards the East. There may be doubts, after all, whether it does not pass west of Tŭrf er-Rukn.

2) This seems to be the place visited by Burckhardt; p. 447. The Wady Lehyâneh which he mentions, is a tributary of the Jerâfeh, entering it from the South, and lying wholly to the right of our road. The other route from 'Akabah passes along it for some distance.

Hitherto the desert had consisted of wide plains, often covered with pebbles and flints, with low ridges and few undulations, and the Wadys slightly depressed below the general level. The whole region thus far was the very picture of barrenness; for not a particle of vegetation exists upon it, except in the Wadys; and in these we had found the herbage and the few trees increasing as we advanced, indicating a better supply of rain. The tract now before us was more uneven and hilly; and the vallies deeper, with much loose sand. A somewhat steep descent brought us to the broad sandy Wady el-Ghŭdhâghidh, which drains the remainder of this region between the Jerâfeh and el-Mŭkrâh, and carries its waters eastward to the Jerâfeh. We encamped in this Wady at $4\frac{3}{4}$ o'clock, near its northern side.

The weather this day was again cold and cheerless. During the afternoon several showers of rain rose from the S. W. and W. and passed along the horizon towards Syria. At $2\frac{1}{2}$ o'clock we too had a considerable shower, and several slighter ones afterwards. This was the first rain of any consequence that I had seen since leaving Alexandria. It was grateful to us in itself; and also as showing that we were approaching Palestine, where the latter rains sometimes continue till this season, and usually come from the S. W.

Our guides of the 'Amrân proved to be a very different sort of men from our Tawarah. They were lazy good-for-nothing fellows; and we soon learned to place no confidence in them, nor in their word, except so far as their assertions tallied with other evidence. According to them, none of the 'Amrân, not even the Sheikhs, know how to read; it being considered disgraceful for a Bedawy to learn to read; very few also know how to pray. The 'Amrân, they said, are divided

into five clans, viz. el-Ŭsbâny, el-Humeidy, er-Rŭbî'y, el-Humâdy, and el Fŭdhly. The present head-Sheikh over the whole is named el-Makbûl. None of the tribe have horses, except the Sheikh; and he only four or five. This fact shows that their country is a desert.[1] The 'Amrân and Haweitât are leagued tribes.—The right of pasturage in a given region does not belong exclusively to the tribe inhabiting the tract; but any foreign tribe that chooses, may come in and pasture, and go away again, without asking permission. In this way bands of the Haweitât (as we had seen) were now migrating for the season to the southern borders of Palestine.—If any one steals, the loser takes from the thief an article of equal or greater value, and deposits it with a third person. The thief is then summoned to trial; and if he refuses, he forfeits the thing thus taken from him. The judges are not always the Sheikhs; other persons may exercise this office. If a person slays another, the nearest relative of the deceased is entitled to a certain number of camels, or to the life of one equal to the deceased.[2]

The following are the Wadys and springs known to our guides, running down into el-'Arabah from the western mountain. They are all small, except the Jerâfeh; and all the fountains are living water. Beginning from the South, the first is *el-Hendis* with sweet water; then *el-Ghŭdyân* (Ezion?) with brackish water; *esh-Sha'ib* with a road ascending through it; *el-Beyâneh* with the most direct road from 'Akabah to Gaza; *el-Jerâfeh* nearly opposite mount Hor; *el-Weiby; el-Khŭrâr.* With the three last we became

1) Horses and neat cattle require a supply of water and fresh pasturage. Hence by inquiring after the animals which a tribe possessed, we were always able to ascertain the nature of their country.

2) Compare the similar traits of law among the Tawarah, p. 208–10 above.

better acquainted at a later period; of the others we learned nothing more.

Sunday, April 8th. We remained all day encamped. The morning was clear and cold; the coldest indeed which we at any time experienced; the thermometer having fallen at sunrise to 35° F. The day became also windy; so that we were somewhat incommoded in our tent by the drifting sand. Our Arabs had a visit from some of the Haiwât, who are the possessors of all this eastern part of the desert; and afterwards from several of the party of the Haweitât whom we had seen the day before. We obtained from them camel's milk for our tea, and found it richer and better than that of goats.

Our Arabs bought of their visitors a kid, which they killed as a "redemption" (Arabic *Fedu*), in order, as they said, that its death might redeem their camels from death; and also as a sacrifice for the prosperity of our journey. With the blood they smeared crosses on the necks of their camels, and on other parts of their bodies. Such sacrifices are frequent among them. This mark of the cross we supposed they had probably imitated from their neighbours, the monks of Sinai; or perhaps they only made it as being one of the simplest marks.

Monday, April 9th. Soon after retiring to rest last night, we had quite a little alarm. For two or three days a lean half-starved Arab dog, probably from the Haiwât or Haweitât, had attached himself to our caravan, and like his masters was particularly attentive to Komeh and his kitchen. About 11 o'clock, when I was already sound asleep, this dog, himself half wolf, began to bark. This was an indication that some strange person or animal was near us; and we remembered the barking of old 'Aîd's dog, the night before Burckhardt and his party were attacked

by robbers. In the present case it might be some prowling hyæna; or some of our visitors of yesterday, looking around for an opportunity of thieving; or it might be also a party of armed robbers from beyond the 'Arabah. We had heard indeed at 'Akabah, that two tribes of that region, the Beni Sŭkhr and the Hejâya, were at war with the Arabs of the desert et-Tîh, often committing robberies in the 'Arabah itself, and sometimes extending their marauding expeditions into the western desert; and it was not impossible, that we might now be threatened with a visit of this nature. Our Arabs were evidently alarmed. They said, if thieves, they would steal upon us at midnight; if robbers, they would come down upon us towards morning. All proposed and promised to watch during the whole night; and we also thought it best to sit up in turn. But we heard nothing further; and the morning found us undisturbed. One of our 'Amrân guides professed afterwards to have found the tracks of a hyæna not far from the tent; or the alarm may very probably have proceeded from a thief, who withdrew at the barking of the dog. We now took the poor dog into more favour; he proved a faithful guard, and continued with us all the way to Jerusalem. But his Bedawy habits were too strong to be overcome; and he vanished as we entered the city.

We were again upon our way at $5\frac{3}{4}$ o'clock, ascending by a small branch Wady, called Raudh el-Hŭmârah, through a tract of undulating country, of limestone formation like all this desert, and covered with black flints and pebbles. At 7 o'clock we came out of this Wady and up a low ascent to a small plain, crossing the heads of several more *Rîdhân* or dry brooks of the same name. At this place, two or three years before, a robbery had been committed by a party of the Hejâya, one of the tribes "from the rising sun,"

on a caravan of the 'Amrân. They fell upon the caravan as it was encamped at night, seizing the plunder and taking the lives of one or two.

Our road now led over a most desert tract of swelling hills, covered in like manner with black flints; our course being still N. by W. towards Jebel 'Arâif. At 7h 20′ the cliff el-Mŭkrâh bore N. E. while the western end of its high ridge bore North. Ten minutes further on, the road from 'Akabah through Wady Beyâneh fell into ours from the right. At 7h 40′ we crossed a Wady running off to the right to Wady el-Ghŭdhâghidh and so to el-'Arabah. Ascending again slightly to a small plateau, we came immediately upon the water-shed, or dividing line between the waters of el-'Arabah and those of the Mediterranean; the former drained off by the Jerâfeh, and the latter by the great Wady el-'Arîsh. At no great distance on our left were low chalky cliffs of singular form, apparently spurs from the ridges we had before seen in that direction. Descending a little, we immediately struck and crossed Wady el-Haikibeh at 8 o'clock, here running towards the N. E. but sweeping round again afterwards to the N. W., so that our path crossed it a second time after three quarters of an hour. It is full of shrubs. We now continued along its side N. N. W. until a quarter past nine o'clock, and then left it running to join the Kureiyeh, a tributary of Wady el-'Arîsh. Just beyond this Wady were the chalky cliffs above mentioned; and as we left them behind, other low ridges appeared on our left at different distances of five, ten, or fifteen miles. We now rode over another barren flinty tract, with a few small Rîdhân running towards the Haikibeh. In some spots we found very small tufts of grass springing up among the pebbles, the effect of recent rains. Our guides said, that in those years when there is plenty of rain, grass

springs up in this way all over the face of the desert. In such seasons, they said, the Arabs are kings. At 10 o'clock a path went off to the right leading to some wells of sweet water called el-Mâyein, lying in a direction N. by E. in the mountains beyond Jebel 'Arâif. This path passes to the right of 'Arâif, over the low part of the ridge extending East from that mountain; and falls again into our road further on.

We reached Wady el-Kureiyeh at 10^h 10′, coming down from near the ridge of el-Mŭkrâh, which was now not far off. Here a round mountain on our left called Jebel Ikhrimm bore W. by N. The Kureiyeh bends around and passes at the northern base of this hill; and further down, about half a day's journey from the point where we crossed, there are in it pits of rain-water, Emshâsh, forming a station on the great road from the convent to Gaza.—Another similar flinty tract now succeeded, called Hemâdet et-'Anaz, over which our course was N. N. W. A clayey Wady called Abu Tîn followed at 12^h 50′; and another, the deep bed of a torrent, el-Khŭrâizeh, at half past one; both running S. W. into the Kureiyeh. The country now became open quite to the base of Jebel 'Arâif en-Nâkah, which had so long been our landmark. The mountain is of a conical form, five or six hundred feet high, consisting of limestone thickly strewed with flints. At a distance it seems wholly isolated; the low ridges, which extend from it E. and W. being there overlooked. That on the E., as has been said already, connects with higher ridges further on, and terminates in the bluff el-Mŭkrâh; while that on the W. continues lower and more broken. The 'Arâif forms a striking object, as thus seen in the middle of the mighty waste. It is indeed a huge bulwark, terminating the open desert on this part, and forming the outwork or bastion of a more mountainous tract be-

yond.—At 2½ o'clock a Wady came down directly from the mountain, (here half an hour or more distant,) bearing the same name, 'Arâif, and passing on W. S. W. to the Kureiyeh. Under one of its low banks the corpse of a man had been recently half-buried, and a few stones placed around; some of the toes and a few rags were visible; and our Arabs said the hyaenas would soon devour the body.

Proceeding on the same course N. N. W. we came at 3 o'clock to the top of the low ridge, running out W. from Jebel 'Arâif. Here we could look back over the desert tract we had just crossed, bounded on the S. by low hills at a great distance, the whole of it drained by the Kureiyeh into Wady el-'Arîsh. Before us was another plain, extending into the mountains towards the right and bounded on the N. by a line of higher hills about two hours distant. From this point in our road, Jebel 'Arâif bore N. 70° E. about a mile distant. Jebel Ikhrimm bore W. being separated from the ridge on which we stood only by Wady el-Kureiyeh. At a much greater distance in the W. N. W. appeared a high and longer mountain called Yelek; and more to the right, about N. N. W. another called el-Helâl. Both these last were said to be beyond Wady el-'Arish.

A short and steep descent now brought us in ten minutes to the bed of Wady el-Mâyein or el Ma'ein, which flowing along the northern base of Jebel 'Arâif and the ridge further West goes to unite with the Kureiyeh. It has its head far up among the mountains on the right; and in it are the wells of the same name already mentioned. Its bed bears evident traces of a large volume of water; and the flat plain beyond is much cut up by its torrents. The bed of the Wady and the adjacent part of the plain are covered with stones, some quite large, apparently brought down by

the waters from the mountains. Crossing the plain on a course N. we encamped at half past 4 o'clock at the foot of the line of hills which bound it on this side; Jebel 'Arâif bearing from our tent S. 55° E. in full view, about three miles distant. On this plain comes in the road from the Convent to Gaza, which passes by 'Ain and eth-Themed.—Our tent was pitched near a shallow water-course running off to Wady el-Mâyein, full of herbs and shrubs like most of the Wadys we had passed, and affording fine pasture for the camels. Among the shrubs of the desert, the Retem or broom was particularly abundant, and of a larger size than we had before seen it.

We had now left the country of the Haiwât, and entered that of the southern Tiyâhah. Here too ends the region or desert of the Tîh, through which we had been travelling ever since we left the 'Arabah. The territory of the Haiwât commences, as we have seen, at the northern ridge of Jebel et-Tîh; and extends northwards along and adjacent to the 'Arabah as far as to the mountains 'Arâif and el-Mŭkrâh; where the high ridge between rises like a wall and forms a boundary on this side. On the West of this tribe lies the country of the Tiyâhah, also extending from Jebel et-Tîh through the middle of the desert northwards beyond that of the Haiwât, to the vicinity of Gaza and Beersheba. The Tiyâhah are divided into the Beneiyât and the Sukeirât. Still further West are the Terâbîn, dwelling from the mountains near Suez to the region of Gaza; their main body being found not far distant from the latter place. This tribe is the strongest of all, and is closely leagued with the Tiyâhah.

The mountainous district North of Jebel 'Arâif and el-Mŭkrâh, and between el-'Arabah and the Tiyâhah, is inhabited by the 'Azâzimeh, who are in close alliance with the former tribe, and sometimes pasture

within their territory. Still further North along the Ghôr, are the Sa'îdîn or Sa'îdîyeh, the Dhŭllâm, and the Jehâlîn; the latter dwelling between Hebron and the Dead Sea. Our guides mentioned also the names of the Sawârikeh, the Jebârât, and the Henâjireh, as living in the same region; respecting whom we learned nothing further, and heard of them no more.—The above, so far as we could ascertain, are all the Arab tribes inhabiting the great western desert.

We had now become so far acquainted with the general features of this region, as to perceive the reason, why all the roads leading across it from 'Akabah and from the Convent to Hebron and Gaza, should meet together in one main trunk in the middle of the desert. The whole district adjacent to the 'Arabah, North of Jebel 'Arâif and el-Mŭkrâh, as has been said, is mountainous; and is composed, as we afterwards found, of steep ridges running mostly from East to West, and presenting almost insuperable obstacles to the passage of a road parallel to the 'Arabah. In consequence, no great route now leads, or ever has led, through this district; but the roads from 'Akabah which ascend from Wady el-'Arabah and in any degree touch the high plateau of the desert S. of el-Mŭkrâh, must necessarily all curve to the West, and passing around the base of Jebel 'Arâif el-Nâkah, continue along the western side of this mountainous tract.

We felt assured, therefore, that we were now upon the ancient Roman road, as marked upon the Peutinger Tables, leading across this desert from 'Akabah to Jerusalem; whether it ascended from the 'Arabah by the route we had followed; or, as is more probable, kept along the 'Arabah for a time and then ascended through Wady Beyâneh. We inquired very minutely after the names of Rasa (Gerasa) and Gypsaria, the

first stations marked on the ancient road, and also mentioned by Ptolemy; but could find no trace of anything corresponding to them. Of the other stations, still North of us, Lysa, Eboda, and Elusa, as also Beersheba, we hoped to be able to give a better account; for our guides had already spoken of a Wady Lussân, of ruins called 'Abdeh and Khŭlasah, and of wells at Bîr es-Seba'.

In respect to the route of the Israelites in approaching Palestine, we here obtained only the conviction, that they could not have passed to the westward of Jebel 'Arâif; since such a course would have brought them directly to Beersheba, and not to Kadesh; which latter city lay near to the border of Edom.[1]

Tuesday, April 10th. Mounting at $5\frac{3}{4}$ o'clock, we ascended the line of hills immediately before us, by a very stony path, reaching the top in twenty-five minutes. We found the ridge to be broad; though we began soon to descend gradually through a small Wady. On our right and towards the N. E. was now a mountainous tract; consisting of steep limestone ridges running parallel to each other from E. to W. three or four hundred feet in height, and terminating towards the West in steep bluffs. Our course was still N. by W. parallel to the end of these bluffs and at no great distance from them, through a lower and more open region. Before us was another large Wady running West, and then another line of hills lower than the bluffs; and such continued to be the make of the land for the greater part of the day. At 6^h 35′ we came down upon Wady Lussân, a broad plain swept over by torrents descending from the mountains on the right and flowing to Wady el-'Arîsh. Our guides knew of no fountain or water in this valley; nor of

1) Num. xx. 16.

any ruins. The name, however, and perhaps the position, corresponds to Lysa, a station on the Roman road, lying according to Rennell about fifty-five geogr. miles from Ailah;[1] from which place we had now travelled about thirty hours by a longer route. The ancient road could only have been, like ours, a caravan path; and Lysa and the other places marked upon it further S. were very probably mere stations, with a guard and a few tents or huts, and without water except as supplied from cisterns or from a distance. On our left, just as we reached the plain, were a few remains of rude walls, and foundations, which we regarded at the time as marking only the site of a former Arab encampment. But from the many similar remains which we afterwards saw along the road, I am now inclined to suppose, that they may have belonged to the substructions of Lysa.

We were fifteen minutes in crossing this plain, and at 6^h 50′ entered upon another tract of undulating hilly country, which indeed might almost be called mountainous. A path went off on the right, leading to some rain-water in the rocks at the head of Wady Jerûr; falling into our road again further on. In a few minutes more, the path from the fountain Mâyein, which left ours yesterday, came in from the right. We here entered a large plain, or basin, drained by a water-course near the middle, with its branches, called Wady el-Muzeiri'ah, running S. W. to the Lussân. This we reached at a quarter past seven. This whole basin was full of shrubs and vegetation, and seemed capable of tillage. Indeed, in several spots we saw traces of rude ploughing; and were told that in years

1) Comparat. Geogr. of Western Asia, I. p. 92.—It is marked in the Peutinger Tables at 48 R. M. South of Eboda, equivalent to about 18 hours with camels. From Wady Lussân, however, to Eboda, we found only 14 hours.

of rain the Arabs are accustomed to plough and sow here. A thin meager grass was springing up in various places. Such spots as these we had not seen nor heard of, since passing Wady Ghŭrŭndel on the Gulf of Suez. In all the region of the Tawarah, the 'Amrân, and the Haiwât, there are none.

We now ascended along a narrow Wady to the top of another sloping parallel ridge, on which we came out at 8 o'clock. Vegetation continued quite to the summit, consisting of shrubs and thin tufts of slender grass. This point commands a wide view over a broad open tract of country on the left and towards the N. W., extending apparently to the mountains Yelek and el-Helâl, broken in some parts by low limestone ridges and hills of chalk; while on our right the precipitous chalky cliffs of the mountainous district continued. Through the plain before us, passed down Wady Jerûr. But the weather was now so hazy, that we were unable to see the country so distinctly as we wished; especially the distant mountains. Around us vegetation seemed more abundant; and camels were at pasture on our left, belonging to the Haweitât who had passed on a few days before.—Here Sâlim, one of our 'Amrân guides, went on ahead of our caravan, and lay down to sleep. On our coming up, we found him with a large scratch on his face and a slight cut on his shoulder, which he said had been given him by two Arabs, who fell upon him while asleep and tried to rob him of his dagger and cloak. We doubted the truth of this part of his story; for he was an impudent blackguard, and very likely to get into quarrel.

We reached the bed of Wady Jerûr at 9 o'clock, coming from the mountains on our right and running W. to the 'Arîsh. Our guides knew of no water in it above or below, (except the rain-water among the

rocks near its head, as already mentioned,) nor of any cultivation; though Tuweileb and others had crossed it further down near its mouth.[1] Our path now ascended very gradually, and at 9h 55′ again descended through a narrow Wady, where we found a little rain-water standing in the rocks at the bottom, of which the guide and dog drank together. Indeed, in several Wadys both yesterday and to-day, we had seen traces of running water from the late rains. At 10½ o'clock, we passed a limestone ridge of some height by a gap. Here we had our last view of Jebel 'Arâif, bearing S. by E. From this point our course became N. N. E. for the remainder of the day. Half an hour later we came upon three broad and shallow water-courses, full of the shrub Retem, uniting below and called Wady es-Sa'idât, which runs down to join the Jâifeh before us. This latter valley followed at 11h 50′, very broad and full of pasture; coming from the E. S. E. where are many spots in it tilled and sown by the Tiyâhah. It passes on to the 'Arîsh; having no water known to our guides. In it, on our left, many camels were browsing, belonging to the main body of our new friends the Haweitât, who had passed us near 'Akabah.

After another hour a slight ascent brought us out upon a high stony plain; while our course was bringing us nearer and nearer to the mountains on our right. At 1h 10′ we came upon Wady Abu Retemât, a wide plain with shrubs and Retem; beyond which a limestone ridge of some height stretched from the eastern mountains far to the West, having in it several gaps and passes. We soon came close to the mountain on our right, and began to ascend gradually

1) The name *Jerûr* in Arabic corresponds to the Hebrew *Gerar;* but neither the position nor the character of this Wady admit the supposition of its being the same with the Gerar of Scripture. This lay much nearer to Gaza, in the country of the Philistines, and was very fertile. Gen. xx. 1. xxvi. 6, 8.

through a Wady with many herbs, coming down from the N. E. into Abu Retemât, and forming a wide pass between the mountain and the beginning of the ridge just mentioned. Beyond the eastern mountain at some distance is a large fountain with sweet running water, named 'Ain el-Kudeirât, but more usually called simply el-'Ain. From it a Wady, also called el-'Ain, runs off towards the North, and sweeping round N. W. through a tract of open country, goes to join the 'Arîsh. A path went off from our road at $1\frac{3}{4}$ o'clock, leading to the wells el-Bîrein, lying a little to the right of our way, half a day's journey from this spot. We reached the top of the pass, which is everywhere sprinkled with herbage, at 2 o'clock. It opens out upon a large gravelly plain or basin, thickly covered in many parts with shrubs and coarse herbage, and having in other parts tracts of naked sand. Here the line of the eastern mountains abruptly retires; the plain extends up far to the right; and is shut in on the East, South, and West, by limestone hills.

Crossing the plain for twenty minutes, we came to several pits of bluish, brackish water, dug a few feet deep in a bed of blue clay, surrounded by an abundance of coarse bulrushes and rank vegetation. Only one pit had water in it at the time. Here we stopped for half an hour; watered the camels, which seemed thirsty; and filled some of the water-skins. To do this the more quickly, Tuweileb's boy went down naked into the water, and handed it up in our leathern bucket. These wells lie in a shallow Wady called el-Kusâimeh, which rises in the plain and runs off W. N. W. among the western hills.—From this spot the northern end of Jebel el-Helâl beyond Wady el-'Arîsh bore N. 80° W. The same seen from Wady el-Jâifeh at 11^h 50′ bore N. 55° W. The opening by which Wady el-'Ain leaves the mountains, bore from

here S. E. The bed of this Wady passes across the plain to the eastward of the wells, and then sweeps around to the N. W.

Leaving the wells at 2^h 50′ we ascended gently among low chalky hills for half an hour; when we again descended gradually, and passing two or three small Wadys, came upon Wady el-'Ain, here running to the left through a wide gravelly plain with occasional tracts of sand, thinly covered in this part with shrubs and herbage. We reached the deep gully which forms its water-course, at 4 o'clock; and found it bordered with grass, daisies, and other small flowers, most refreshing to the eye after so long an abstinence. Indeed, we had found to-day more vegetation in the desert, than before in all the way from Egypt. This Wady, as we have seen, comes from el-'Ain, the fountain above mentioned, by a circuitous course; and continues on to join Wady el-'Arîsh. Further down, a Wady enters it from the left, having in it brackish water called el-Muweilih, forming a station on the western road from the convent to Gaza.

After crossing the water-course, we came upon a broad tract of tolerably fertile soil, capable of tillage, and apparently once tilled. Across the whole tract the remains of long ranges of low stone-walls were visible, which probably once served as the divisions of cultivated fields. The Arabs call them el-Muzeiri'ât, "little plantations." We afterwards saw many such walls, which obviously were not constructed by the present race of Arab inhabitants; but must be referred back to an earlier period. We neither saw nor heard of any site of ruins in this valley; it may have been tilled by the inhabitants of some place not far remote. We encamped at 4^h 25′ upon the plain. On its northern side rose a swelling ridge of considerable elevation, with several sharp chalky peaks; the most pro-

minent of which was called Râs es-Serâm. Towards the East, mountains were visible only at a distance.

The country through which we had passed to-day, though in itself barren and desolate in the extreme, yet in consequence of the recent rains presented the appearance of a less frightful desert. Some grass, a few flowers, more frequent herbs and shrubs, and a few faint traces of tillage, were to us agreeable novelties; the more grateful, as they gave promise of better things to come.

Wednesday, April 11th. The morning was bright and beautiful; and we set off at $5\frac{3}{4}$ o'clock in high spirits, in the hope of finding to-day, not indeed Arab habitations, but the more interesting remains of the dwellings of former generations. Our guides had promised to take us to a place with ruins, not far from our path, which they knew only by the name of 'Aujeh; but which Tuweileb said was also called 'Abdeh. Our course lay first across the plain N. E. by N. and our main route continued in this direction all day. On both sides of the way patches of wheat and barley were seen; their deep green contrasting strongly with the nakedness around. We saw many such patches in the course of the day; but they were mostly stunted and poor, in consequence of the little rain. The plain now became a gradual acclivity; and following up a broad Wady, or tract covered with herbs, we came out at $6^h\ 40'$ on a smaller high circular plain, surrounded by chalky hills, which from a distance appear like mountain-peaks. This plain is about a mile in diameter, and covered with shrubs. One of the hills, a chalky cone on the S. W. is the Râs es-Serâm seen yesterday. It is so called from Wady es-Serâm of which this plain is the head, and which issues from it on the opposite or N. E. part. On this plain comes in the great western road from the convent of Sinai

to Gaza; the different routes over Jebel et-Tîh by the two passes er-Râkineh and el-Mureikhy, having united long before reaching this point. Thus all the roads across the desert were now combined into one main trunk, and continued so for the remainder of the day.

We crossed the plain; and at a quarter past 7 o'clock entered and descended Wady es-Serâm. The desert began to assume a gentler aspect. The Serâm spread out further down into a wide plain, with shrubs and grass and patches of wheat and barley, looking almost like a meadow. A few Arabs of the 'Azâzimeh were pasturing their camels and flocks. The country around became gradually still more open, with broad arable vallies separated by low swelling hills. Grass increased in the vallies; and herbs were sprinkled over the hills. We heard this morning, for the first time, the songs of many birds, and among them the lark. I watched the little warbler rising and soaring in his song; and was inexpressibly delighted. On reaching the plain, we sent two Arabs with a camel over the hills on the right to the wells Bîrein for water, with directions to overtake the party again in the course of the day. At 8 o'clock, leaving our servants and camels to continue in the direct route to Ruhaibeh, where we were to encamp, we ourselves with the dromedaries and three Arabs turned off the road towards the left of a low range of hills, in order to visit the ruins of 'Aujeh or 'Abdeh. In half an hour, travelling about North, we came upon a low ridge, commanding a view out over a boundless plain or slightly undulating tract towards the East, often sandy, but everywhere sprinkled with shrubs and herbs like a Wady. The Serâm expands into this plain, as do also Wady el-Bîrein from the S. and Wady el-Hŭfîr from the S. E. The water-course of the Serâm keeps along on

the western side of the plain beneath the hills on which we now were. We here struck a track coming from Wady es-Serâm on the right and going off to Gaza; but it was not the usual Gaza road. We soon left it, and turning more to the right, saw, at three quarters past 8, the ruins on a hill North.

Descending along a little Wady, we struck the water-course of the Serâm at 9 o'clock, still running N. along the base of the low hills which continue to skirt the plain on this side. Here we came upon the remains of walls similar to those we had seen near Wady el-'Ain, apparently once enclosing fields or gardens, along the tract overflowed by the torrent during the rainy season. At first these walls were slight, but became thicker and more solid as we advanced. Most of them are two or three feet thick, and double; the faces being laid up very neatly with round stones from the torrent, and the middle filled in with gravel. Some, built across the water-course, are six or eight feet thick, forming a solid dam; and were doubtless intended to regulate the flowing and distribution of the water. In some of the walls, the sides are perpendicular; in others sloping; and occasionally the round stones are broken to a face. At 9^h 10′ the water-bed of Wady el-Bîrein came in across the plain, and gave its name to the whole. Five minutes further on was a *Ghŭdîr* or pool of rain-water in its bed, and another just below. This point was about a quarter of an hour distant from the hill with ruins. Here we dismounted, and turned up a little Wady coming in from the West, to visit the ruin of a square tower of hewn stone on its southern bank. Near by it the foundations of houses were visible; and many hewn stones and fragments of pottery were strewn around. On the N. side of the little Wady, opposite the tower, is a deep cavern in the limestone hill, apparently once a quarry,

with pillars left to support the roof. From it the materials for the neighbouring buildings were probably taken. It is more than a hundred feet in length; and has been apparently inhabited, perhaps by the Arabs; as fragments of pottery were scattered in it. It is now the resort of multitudes of pigeons, which flew out in a cloud as we entered.

The principal ruins are situated on a hill or rocky ridge, from sixty to one hundred feet high, running out like a promontory towards the E. from the elevated land on our left, and overlooking the broad plain in front; while the bed of the torrent sweeps in a deep channel close around its end. On this hill two ruins were conspicuous, resembling the fortresses of an acropolis. As we approached, there was on our left apparently an ancient reservoir, which received its water from the hills above. Here we found Arabs with their camels and goats at pasture; they proved to be a family of the Tawarah, who had wandered off thus far from their home. Arriving at the foot of the hill, we found the southern base and slope covered with the ruins of buildings of hewn stone, thrown together in utter confusion, and showing this to have been the main site of the ancient town. Among these we noticed several columns and entablatures. On the top of the hill, the westernmost building, near the middle of the ridge, proved to be a Greek church, fronting towards the E. about one hundred and twenty feet in length, and of proportional breadth. The walls are still in great part standing, built of hewn stone apparently from the neighbouring quarry, and of good workmanship. The arched recess or place of the altar was yet visible, with a similar smaller recess on each side quite entire. In the western part was a side chapel with two or three smaller rooms. The space within the walls was strewn with broken columns and entablatures.

About one hundred and fifty paces further East, near the extremity of the ridge, are the ruins of a fortress or castle; a large parallelogram likewise built of hewn stone from the quarry. The length of the enclosure, of which the walls are still standing, is more than three hundred feet from E. to W. On the eastern end there would seem to have been another and perhaps stronger part of the fortress, extending a hundred feet further quite to the brow of the precipice. This part is now wholly destroyed; and of the larger enclosure no portion is covered over. The entrance was from the West, by a fine arched portal now broken at the top. We looked here, as well as in the church, for inscriptions; but without success. At the eastern end, beyond the present wall, but within the circuit of the smaller fortress, is a very deep cistern capable of holding several hundred hogsheads; and further on, near the extreme point of the rock, a well about one hundred feet deep, now dry. The bottom of this well for some sixty feet is wholly sunk in the solid rock; while the top for about forty feet is walled up eight feet square with hewn stones in an uncommonly good style of masonry. An arch was formerly thrown over the top, which is now broken down. The walls of the smaller part of the fortress included both the cistern and well. At the bottom of the hill immediately below this point, is another well about forty feet deep, walled up in the same manner.—On the East of the water-course of Wady el-Bîrein are also ruins of buildings; and the walls of fields similar to those we saw at first, extend far out into the plain.

From the castle the direction of the wells Bîrein was pointed out about S. by E. Further to the East the water-course of Wady el-Hŭfîr comes down across the plain; and uniting with that of Wady el-Bîrein just N. of the castle, gives its name to the whole. It then runs off N. W. to join Wady el-Abyad.

We had no doubt at the time, nor have I any now, that these were the ruins of the ancient Eboda or Oboda, a city mentioned only by Ptolemy, and marked on the Peutinger Tables as lying on the Roman road twenty-three Roman miles to the southward of Elusa; equivalent to nine hours with camels at the usual rate of travel. We were afterwards eight hours in passing from these ruins to the site of Elusa, at a rate more rapid than usual; so that the correspondence is here sufficiently exact; and the name of 'Abdeh, which the spot still bears, is decisive. It must have been a place of importance and of great strength. The large church marks a numerous Christian population; though Eboda is nowhere mentioned among the episcopal cities. It is rare also to find in the desert a fortress of such extent, and built with so much care. But the desert has reassumed its rights; the intrusive hand of cultivation has been driven back; the race that dwelt here have perished; and their works now look abroad in loneliness and silence over the mighty waste.[1]

We left the ruins at $10\frac{3}{4}$ o'clock. Just as we were mounting our camels, one of the 'Azâzimeh, who was pasturing in the vicinity, came up and scolded our guides most violently for bringing Christians to view his country. Our course lay N. E. by E. across the plain to regain our former road. The character of the desert began to change, and became more and more sandy as we advanced. We struck the route at a quarter past noon; and fell in again with our acquaintances, the Haweitât, who were now going the same road. We soon passed by their caravan, and saw them no more.

During this time we were exposed to a violent Sirocco, which continued till towards evening, resembling the Khamsîn of Egypt. The wind had been all the

1) See Note XXI, at the end of the volume.

morning N. E. but at 11 o'clock it suddenly changed to the South, and came upon us with violence and intense heat, until it blew a perfect tempest. The atmosphere was filled with fine particles of sand, forming a bluish haze; the sun was scarcely visible, his disk exhibiting only a dun and sickly hue; and the glow of the wind came upon our faces as from a burning oven. Often we could not see ten rods around us; and our eyes, ears, mouths, and clothes, were filled with sand. The thermometer at 12 o'clock stood at 88° F. and had apparently been higher; at 2 o'clock it had fallen to 76°, although the wind still continued.

We kept on our way, proceeding among sand-drifts, the ground in spots being white with broken snail-shells; and began to descend very gradually towards Wady el-Abyad. At 12^h 50′ there were again walls of fields, marking an extensive enclosure. At 1 o'clock we came to an Arab cemetery, with a rude heap of stones, called the tomb of Sheikh el-'Amry, whom the Arabs never mention without a curse. A ridiculous story of Arab superstition is attached to this tomb. There seemed also to be the foundations of a village or the like, connected with the said fields. Close by is the bed of Wady el-Abyad, running to the left into the 'Arîsh; it was said to be the last Wady on our route that joins the latter valley. The region is here all sand; and we now passed among swelling hills, which, though of sand, were yet covered to the top with tufts of herbs and shrubs, like the vallies and plains; all greener than before, and indicating our approach to a land of rain. Among these hills we passed at half past two through a large basin, the head of a Wady called Nehîyeh, running off W. to Wady el-Abyad. Here we overtook our two men with a load of good water from el-Bîrein. They reported that the wells were *four* instead of two; all twenty-five or thirty feet

deep, walled up with hewn stone, and containing living water. The plain beyond the wells, they said, was extensively cultivated by the Arabs.

We overtook the rest of our party not long after, and soon began to descend gradually towards the head of Wady er-Ruhaibeh. The tempest continued unabated, although the burning glow had in part passed away. As we crossed a plain slightly descending towards the N. E. there were, at 3^h 20′, traces of walls and former fields. Ten minutes further brought us to the entrance of Wady er-Ruhaibeh, which runs from the plain towards the N. E. Here is the fork of the two main roads leading to Gaza and Hebron. We encamped at $3\frac{3}{4}$ o'clock in the Wady, which is at first narrow, lying between hills of gentle acclivity.

The tempest now seemed to have reached its greatest fury, and had become a tornado. It was with the utmost difficulty that we could pitch our tent, or keep it upright after it was pitched. For a time the prospect was dreadful; and the storm in itself was probably as terrific, as most of those which have given rise to the exaggerated accounts of travellers. Yet here was no danger of life; though I can well conceive that in certain circumstances, as where a traveller is without water and is previously feeble and exhausted, such a "horrible tempest" may well prove fatal. Most of our Arabs covered their faces with a handkerchief, although we were travelling before the wind. After 5 o'clock the wind fell; the air became less obscure; a breeze sprung up from the N. W. which soon purified the atmosphere, restored the sun to his splendour, and brought us a clear and pleasant evening, with a temperature of 66° F. It was no little labour to free ourselves from the casing of sand in which we were enveloped.

We had not been told of ruins at this place, or only

in general terms; and were therefore the more surprised to find here also traces of antiquity. In the valley itself, just at the left of the path, is the ruin of a small rough building with a dome, built in the manner of a mosk; it was obviously once a *Wely* or tomb of a Muhammedan Saint. On the right of the path is a confused heap of hewn stones, the remains of a square building of some size, perhaps a tower. On the acclivity of the eastern hill we found traces of wells; a deep cistern, or rather cavern, which seemed to have been used as such; and a fine circular threshing floor, evidently antique. But on ascending the hill on the left of the valley, we were astonished to find ourselves amid the ruins of an ancient city. Here is a level tract of ten or twelve acres in extent, entirely and thickly covered over with confused heaps of stones, with just enough of their former order remaining, to show the foundations and form of the houses, and the course of some of the streets. The houses were mostly small, all solidly built of bluish limestone, squared and often hewn on the exterior surface. Many of the dwellings had each its cistern, cut in the solid rock; and these still remain quite entire. One mass of stones larger than the rest, appeared to be the remains of a church, from the fragments of columns and entablatures strewed around. Another large mass lay further to the North, which we did not visit. There seemed to have been no public square, and no important or large public buildings; nor could we trace with certainty any city walls. We sought also in vain for inscriptions. Once, as we judged upon the spot, this must have been a city of not less than twelve or fifteen thousand inhabitants. Now, it is a perfect field of ruins, a scene of unutterable desolation; across which the passing stranger can with difficulty find his way. Multitudes of lizards were briskly and silently gliding among the stones;

and at evening, as we sat writing, the screechings of an owl were the only sound to break in upon the death-like stillness.

These ruins have apparently been seen by no former traveller; and it was only by accident that we stumbled upon them. The place must anciently have been one of some note and importance; but what city could it have been? This is a question, which after long inquiry, and with the best aid from the light of European science, I am as yet unable to answer. The name er-Ruhaibeh naturally suggests the Hebrew *Rehoboth*, one of Isaac's wells in the vicinity of Gerar;[1] but this appears to have been nothing but a well, and there is no mention in Scripture or elsewhere of any city connected with it. The position of the well too, would seem to have been much further North; and no town of this name is spoken of in all this region. The city probably bore some other name, now utterly forgotten. The ruined Wely above mentioned seems to indicate, that the place was inhabited, or at least frequented, down to a period considerably later than the Muhammedan conquest.

As Ruhaibeh is the great point from which the roads across the desert, after having been all united, again diverge towards Gaza and Hebron, the present is a fit occasion for bringing together all that remains to be said of these routes and of the region further South. We travelled the road from this point to Hebron, a journey of two days, which is described in the following pages. Gaza (Arabic Ghŭzzeh) was said to be only one day distant from Ruhaibeh, though it must be a very long day's journey. Our guides knew of no ruins on the way; and only of one place of any

1) Gen. xxvi. 22.

note, called Nŭttâr Abu Sŭmâr, where the Arabs have magazines of grain.

From 'Akabah to Hebron and Gaza, one road passes along nearly the whole length of the great Wady el-'Arabah, and ascends from it to the high western plateau by several passes not far from the S. end of the Dead Sea. These we shall have occasion to describe at a later period. From 'Akabah to Ruhaibeh there are two roads for a part of the way; one, the route we travelled; and the other, keeping for some time along the 'Arabah, as has been already mentioned, and then ascending through Wady el-Beyâneh to join our road before reaching Jebel 'Arâif.

From the convent of Sinai, (and consequently also from Tûr,) three roads cross by the three great passes of Jebel et-Tîh, and unite before reaching Ruhaibeh. The easternmost is the road passing by el-'Ain and also by the well eth-Themed, West of the mountain Tŭrf er-Rukn; and falling into our route at Wady el-Mâyein near Jebel 'Arâif. The middle road crosses the Tîh by the pass el-Mureikhy; and the western one by the pass er-Râkineh. These unite before reaching the Haj-route; and fall into our road on the circular plain at the head of Wady es-Serâm, about one day's journey from Ruhaibeh. This united route passes some distance to the eastward of the fortress Nŭkhl on the Haj-road; six hours, according to Seetzen's information.[1] A branch route, however, from both the passes, goes off by way of Nŭkhl, and falls in again further North; but this increases the distance one day's journey. From the convent to Ruhaibeh is reckoned nine days' journey on all the direct roads; and by way of Nŭkhl, ten days. The middle route,

1) Zach's Monatl. Corresp. XVII. p. 147.

across the pass el-Mureikhy, is the one most commonly travelled by the Tawarah; though Tuweileb was acquainted with them all.

These roads, it will be seen, all lie to the eastward of Wady el-'Arîsh; the westernmost crossing that Wady from West to East, not far above Jebel Ikhrimm. But another branch keeps on from that point to Gaza, along the western side of the 'Arîsh, crossing it much further down, and leaving Ruhaibeh at some distance on the right. This would seem to be the route taken by the pilgrims, who travelled in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries from Gaza to Mount Sinai.

The above are all the roads we heard of, across the desert, from South to North. But an important road leads from Cairo by way of 'Ajrûd to Hebron, and falls into our route at the head of Wady es-Serâm, before reaching Ruhaibeh.—A few days before we passed, Lord Prudhoe had also travelled directly from Nŭkhl to Wady Mûsa, and kindly furnished us with the notes of his route.

The notices thus collected by us for the first time from the Arabs, together with our own observations and Burckhardt's route in 1812, furnish, so far as I know, the only topographical details as yet given to the public, respecting the great desert North of Jebel et-Tîh and the Haj-route; excepting a very brief account by Russegger of his journey from the convent to Hebron a few months after we had passed. The details are embodied in a note at the end of the volume.[1]

From a comparison of all these notices, it appears, that the middle of this desert is occupied by a long central basin, extending from Jebel et-Tîh to the shores of the Mediterranean, descending towards the North with a rapid slope, and drained through all its

1) See Note XXII, end of the volume.

length by Wady el-'Arîsh, which enters the sea near the place of the same name. West of this basin, other Wadys run by themselves down to the sea. On the East of the same central basin is another similar and parallel one, between it and the 'Arabah, (the two being separated by the chain el-'Öjmeh and its continuation,) extending from the Tîh nearly to Jebel 'Arâif and el-Mŭkrâh, and drained throughout by the Wady el-Jerâfeh; which having its head in or near the Tîh, empties into the 'Arabah not far from el-Mŭkrâh. North of this last basin, the tract between the 'Arabah and the basin of the 'Arîsh, is filled up by ranges or clusters of mountains; from which on the East short Wadys run to the 'Arabah, and on the West longer ones to Wady el-'Arîsh; until further North, these latter continue by themselves to the sea nearer Gaza.

Comparing now this formation of the northern desert with the notices already given respecting the peninsula of Sinai, we obtain a more distinct view of the general features of the latter. If the parallel of the northern coast of Egypt be extended eastward to the great Wady el-'Arabah, it appears that the desert South of this parallel, rises gradually towards the South, until on the summit of the ridge et-Tîh, between the Gulfs of Suez and 'Akabah, it attains the elevation of 4322 feet, according to Russegger. The waters of all this great tract flow off northward either to the Mediterranean or the Dead Sea. The Tîh forms a sort of offset; and along its southern base the surface sinks at once to the height of only about 3000 feet, forming the sandy plain which extends nearly across the peninsula. After this the mountains of the peninsula proper commence, and rise rapidly through the formations of sandstone, grünstein, porphyry, and granite, into the lofty masses of St. Catharine and Um

Shaumer; the former of which has an elevation of more than 8000 Paris feet, or nearly double that of the Tîh. Here the waters all run eastward or westward to the Gulfs of 'Akabah and Suez.

Thursday, April 12th. Our 'Amrân guides had been engaged only as far as to Sheikh el-'Amry, which we passed yesterday; but as they professed to be going to Gaza, they continued with us to Ruhaibeh, and left us at evening. We ourselves had been long undecided which route to take from this point. But as we learned that there were no places of importance on the Gaza road; and by taking it we should probably arrive a day later at Jerusalem; while the way by Hebron was more direct and apparently passed the sites of important ancient cities; we determined to follow the latter. The journey of yesterday had been one of deep interest to us; nor did that of to-day afford results less unexpected or gratifying.

Starting at $5\frac{1}{2}$ o'clock, we proceeded on a general course N. E. down Wady er-Ruhaibeh, which becomes broad and arable, with rounded hills on either side. After three quarters of an hour there was a ruin on the hill on our right, a square tower of hewn stones, with a large heap of stones adjoining. A small Wady called esh-Shutein comes in at this point from the same side; and on the hills further N. we saw other heaps of squared stones. As we advanced, the valley became quite green with grass; and in a season of ordinary rain would be verdant and full of luxuriant herbage. The birds were now more frequent, warbling forth their carols and filling the air with melody. We noticed the quail with his whistle, and the lark with her song; besides many smaller warblers. In the course of the day, we heard also the notes of the

nightingale. At half past six a ruined village was on the left-hand hill. Five minutes later we left Wady er-Ruhaibeh running N. W. to join Wady el-Kŭrn; and passed up a small side-valley, Wady el-Futeis. We had overtaken a straggling family of the Haweitât, with three or four camels, travelling on our route; and as the man seemed acquainted with the country, having often been here, (as he said,) we engaged him as a guide as far as to the vicinity of Hebron.

Our path now led over a hill and down another small valley, running nearly E. N. E. towards a wide open country, which spread itself out on every side with swelling hills, but no mountains, almost as far as the eye could reach. Herbs were abundant; but the scanty grass was withered and parched. Crossing a tract of low hills extending along from the left, we came at 8^h 20′ to the bed of Wady el-Kŭrn. This is a valley or plain of some width, with a water-course in the middle, running here West, and then N. W. and joining the Ruhaibeh. As we approached its bed from the South, we perceived a wall of hewn stone, extending for some distance obliquely from the bed; and many small fragments of pottery were strewed over the soil. We halted on the northern bank at a fine well, surrounded with several drinking-troughs of stone for watering camels and flocks. The well is circular, eight or ten feet in diameter; and measured twenty-seven feet in depth to the surface of the water. It is very neatly stoned up with good masonry; but the bottom seemed to have been partly filled with rubbish. The water was slightly brackish, and was said never to fail. Adjacent to this well the ground was strewed with ruins, which our Arabs called el-Khŭlaṣah; in which name we could not but recognise the ancient Elusa.

These ruins cover an area of fifteen or twenty

acres, throughout which the foundations and enclosures of houses are distinctly to be traced; and squared stones are everywhere thinly scattered. Toward the western side are two open places, perhaps open squares of the ancient city. Several large heaps of hewn stones in various parts probably mark the sites of public buildings; but they are thrown together in too much confusion to be easily made out. Occasional fragments of columns and entablatures were visible. We found no cisterns; the city having been apparently supplied with water from the public well. The space covered by the ruins is at least one third greater than that at Ruhaibeh; but the city was apparently less compactly built; and the masses of ruins are much less considerable. The limestone is here softer, and is much decayed from the influence of the weather; many of the blocks being eaten through and through like a honey-comb. In this way probably a large portion of the materials has perished. We judged that here must have been a city with room enough for a population of fifteen or twenty thousand souls.

The city of Elusa lay without the borders of Palestine; and its name is not found in the Bible. It is first mentioned by Ptolemy in the first half of the second century, among the cities of Idumea, West of the Dead Sea; and is marked in the Peutinger Tables as lying on the Roman road, seventy-one Roman miles southward from Jerusalem. This distance we afterwards travelled in twenty-six hours and a quarter, at a pace somewhat more rapid than our average rate; affording a coincidence near enough to determine the site, even if the name were not decisive.[1]

Profane history makes no further mention of Elusa; but from ecclesiastical writers we learn, that although there was here a Christian church with a bishop, yet

1) See Note XXIII, end of the volume.

the city was chiefly inhabited by heathen, connected with the Saracens of the adjacent deserts. Jerome relates of St. Hilarion, that travelling with a company of monks into the desert of Kadesh, he came to Elusa just as an annual festival had collected all the people in the temple of Venus; whom they worshipped, like the Saracens, in conjunction with the morning star. The town itself, he says, was for the most part semi-barbarous. As an episcopal city, Elusa was reckoned to the third Palestine. About A. D. 400, the son of Nilus was brought here as a prisoner from Mount Sinai, and redeemed by the bishop; as has been already related in speaking of the convent.[1] The names of four other bishops are found in the records of councils, as late as to A. D. 536. About A. D. 600, Antoninus Martyr appears to have passed from Palestine to Sinai by Elusa, which he calls Eulatia. The *Notitiae* of ecclesiastical writers, collected by Reland, refer to nearly the same period. From that time onward until now, an interval of more than eleven centuries, Elusa has remained unmentioned, and its place unknown; until we were thus permitted to rescue it again from this long oblivion.[2]

Leaving the well at a quarter past 9 o'clock, we proceeded on our way, on a course N. N. E. Of Wady el-Kŭrn, (sometimes called also Wady el-Khŭlasah,) we had two accounts. Tuweileb thought that after the junction of the Ruhaibeh with it, the two form Wady Khŭbarah, which enters the 'Arîsh. This Wady, the Khŭbarah, though without living water, is very fertile, and yields good crops of grain and also of

1) See above, p. 183.

2) See in general, Reland Palaest. pp. 215, 218, 223; also p. 755, seq. Le Quien Oriens Christ. III. p. 735. Itin. Antonini Mart. xxxv.— M. Callier passed from Hebron to Dhoherîyeh, and thence to Wady Khŭlasah; but he appears to have struck the valley at a point further East. Journal des Savans, Jan. 1836. p. 47. Nouv. Annales des Voyages, 1839. Tom. III. p. 274.

melons. On the other hand, our 'Amrân and Haweitât guides affirmed, that the united Wady receives the Mŭrtŭbeh further down, and thus forms Wady es-Sŭny, which joins the Sherî'ah near the sea not far South of Gaza. Of these accounts the former, from the construction of the map, seems the most probable.—Our path led for a time over sandy hills, called Rumeilet Hâmid, sprinkled with herbs and shrubs, but with little grass. The shrubs which we had met with throughout the desert still continued. One of the principal of these is the *Retem* already mentioned, a species of the broom-plant, *Genista raetam* of Forsåkl. This is the largest and most conspicuous shrub of these deserts, growing thickly in the water-courses and vallies. Our Arabs always selected the place of encampment (if possible) in a spot where it grew, in order to be sheltered by it at night from the wind; and during the day, when they often went on in advance of the camels, we found them not unfrequently sitting or sleeping under a bush of Retem to protect them from the sun. It was in this very desert, a day's journey from Beersheba, that the prophet Elijah lay down and slept beneath the same shrub.[1]

We came at $10\frac{3}{4}$ o'clock to a broad Wady, with a large tract of grass, called el-Khŭza'y. As we advanced, the loose sand ceased, and the country exhibited more grass mingled with the herbs. At $11^h\ 55'$ we crossed the bed of Wady el-Mŭrtŭbeh, a wide tract bearing marks of much water. Just before reaching it a path had crossed ours, leading to water in the same Wady not far to the left, in pits called *Themâil.* Low-

1) 1 Kings xix. 4, 5. The Hebrew name רֹתֶם *rothem* is the same as the present Arabic name. The Vulgate, Luther, English Version, and others, translate it wrongly by *juniper.* The roots are very bitter; and are regarded by the Arabs as yielding the best charcoal. This illustrates Job xxx. 4, and Ps. cxx. 4. Comp. Burckhardt, p. 483.

er down, this Wady receives the Khŭza'y, and afterwards unites with the Kŭrn, as above described.

Our road thus far had been among swelling hills of moderate height. We now began gradually to ascend others higher, but of the same general character. The herbs of the desert began to disappear, and the hills were thinly covered with grass, now dry and parched. The ascent was long and gradual. We reached the top at a quarter past 1 o'clock; and looked out before us over a broad lower tract; beyond which our eyes were greeted with the first sight of the mountains of Judah, South of Hebron, which skirted the open country and bounded the horizon in the East and North East. We now felt that the desert was at an end. Descending gradually, we came out at 2 o'clock upon an open undulating country; the shrubs ceased, or nearly so; green grass was seen along the lesser water-courses, and almost green sward; while the gentle hills, covered in ordinary seasons with grass and rich pasture, were now burnt over with drought. Arabs were pasturing their camels in various parts; but no trace of dwellings was anywhere visible. At $2\frac{3}{4}$ o'clock we reached Wady es-Seba', a wide water-course, or bed of a torrent, running here W. S. W. towards Wady es-Sŭny. Upon its northern side, close upon the bank, are two deep wells, still called Bîr es-Seba', the ancient Beersheba. We had entered the borders of Palestine!

These wells are some distance apart; they are circular, and stoned up very neatly with solid masonry, apparently much more ancient than that of the wells at 'Abdeh. The larger one is twelve and a half feet in diameter, and forty-four and a half feet deep to the surface of the water; sixteen feet of which at the bottom is excavated in the solid rock. The other well lies fifty-five rods W. S. W., and is five feet in

diameter and forty-two feet deep. The water in both is pure and sweet, and in great abundance; the finest indeed we had found since leaving Sinai. Both wells are surrounded with drinking-troughs of stone for camels and flocks; such as were doubtless used of old for the flocks which then fed on the adjacent hills. The curb-stones were deeply worn by the friction of the ropes in drawing up water by hand.[1]

We had heard of no ruins here, and hardly expected to find any; for none were visible from the wells; yet we did not wish to leave so important a spot without due examination. Ascending the low hills North of the wells, we found them covered with the ruins of former habitations, the foundations of which are still distinctly to be traced, although scarcely one stone remains upon another. The houses appear not to have stood compactly, but scattered over several little hills and in the hollows between. They seem to have been built chiefly of round stones; though some of the stones are squared and some hewn. It was probably only a small straggling city. This very expression I wrote in pencil on the spot; and was afterwards gratified to find that Eusebius and Jerome both describe it only as a "large village" with a Roman garrison.[2] We could find no special traces of churches or other public buildings; although one or two larger heaps of stones may probably have been such edifices. These ruins are spread over a space half a mile in

1) The Hebrew name Beersheba signifies "Well of the Oath;" or as some suppose, "Well of the Seven," referring to the seven lambs which Abraham gave to Abimelech in token of the oath between them. See Gen. xxi. 28—32. The Arabic name Bîr es-Seba' signifies "Well of the Seven," and also "Well of the Lion."—Some writers have regarded the name as implying *seven wells;* but without the slightest historical or other ground. On the map of our route across the desert, published in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London for 1839, a similar explanation was inserted without my knowledge.

2) Onomast. art. *Bersabee.* Euseb. κώμη μεγίστη. Jerome, "vicus grandis."

length along the northern side of the water-course and extending back about a quarter of a mile. Fragments of pottery are scattered over the whole.—On the S. side of the water-course is a long wall of hewn stone under the bank, extending for several hundred feet, apparently intended to protect the bank from being washed away by the torrent. Probably gardens or some important building may have been situated on the bank above; of which however there is now no trace. On the same side are several heaps of stones; and the ground is also strewed with small fragments of pottery.

Here then is the place where the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob often dwelt! Here Abraham dug perhaps this very well; and journied from hence with Isaac to Mount Moriah, to offer him up there in sacrifice. From this place Jacob fled to Padan-Aram, after acquiring the birthright and blessing belonging to his brother; and here too he sacrificed to the Lord on setting off to meet his son Joseph in Egypt. Here Samuel made his sons judges; and from here Elijah wandered out into the southern desert, and sat down under a shrub of Retem, just as our Arabs sat down under it every day and every night. Here was the border of Palestine proper, which extended from Dan to Beersheba.[1] Over these swelling hills the flocks of the patriarchs once roved by thousands; where now we found only a few camels, asses, and goats!

Beersheba is last mentioned in the Old Testament, as one of the places to which the Jews returned after the exile.[2] The name does not occur in the New Testament; nor is it referred to as then existing by any writer earlier than Eusebius and Jerome in the fourth century. They describe it as a large village with a

1) See Gen. xxi. 31, seq. xxii. 19. xxvi. 23. xxviii. 10. xlvi. 1. 1 Sam. viii. 2. 1 Kings xix. 3. 2 Sam. xvii. 11. Compare in general, Reland's Palaest. p. 620.

2) Neh. xi. 27, 30.

Roman garrison.[1] It is found as an episcopal city in the early ecclesiastical and other *Notitiae* referring to the centuries before and after the Muhammedan conquests;[2] but none of its bishops are anywhere mentioned. Its site was in like manner long forgotten; and the crusaders assigned this name to the place now called Beit Jibrîn, lying between Hebron and Askelon.[3] About the middle of the fourteenth century, Sir John Maundeville and also Rudolf de Suchem and William de Baldensel passed on this route from Sinai to Hebron and Jerusalem; and all of them mention here Beersheba. The two latter say it was then uninhabited; but some of the churches were still standing. From this time onward for five centuries, it has again remained until this day apparently unvisited and unknown; except the slight notice which Seetzen obtained respecting it from the Arabs.[4]

We remained nearly an hour upon this interesting spot; where all that is now to be seen, lies within a very narrow compass. Meantime several flocks of goats came up for water; or perhaps because their keepers wished to get a nearer view of the strangers. After some chaffering, we bought a kid for our Arabs; intending to give them a good supper, inasmuch as we were approaching the end of our journey. We set off

1) Onomast. art. *Bersabee.*— Josephus indeed mentions a Bersabee among the towns which he fortified; but this was in Galilee. B. J. II. 20. 6. Vit. 37.

2) Reland's Pal. pp. 215, 217, 222, 229.

3) Will. Tyr. XIV. 22.

4) Zach's Monatl. Corresp. XVII. 143. At the time of our visit I was under the impression, that Seetzen had himself been at Beersheba. But he went from Hebron first to the vicinity of Gaza; and thence direct to Sinai; and only speaks of the wells of Bîr es-Seba' as being several hours E. N. E. of the spot where he then was.—Eusebius and Jerome place Beersheba at *twenty* Roman miles from Hebron towards the South. This is a striking instance of their loose and vague manner of specifying distances and bearings not definitely known to them. We found the distance from Beersheba to Hebron to be a good 12 hours with camels; equivalent to nearly 25 G. M. or more than 30 Roman miles, on a general course N. E. by E. Compare Reland's Pal. p. 474, seq.

again at 3^h 35′, on a course N. E., the path gradually ascending over an open tract, which in ordinary seasons must be a fine grazing country. Not a precipice, not a tree, was to be seen; nothing but grassy hills. At 4^h 25′ we passed the site of a village, the stone houses of which had been thrown down to the very foundation. We could learn no name. Ten minutes later we encamped in this open tract, for the first time on grass, or rather what had once been grass; for it was now parched and brown. Yet it was something better than the desert; where hitherto the floor of our tent had always been the naked sand or gravel.

Our Arabs quickly slaughtered the poor goat; and the different portions were speedily in the process of cooking at different fires. This time they had no guests, bidden or unbidden, to interrupt the full enjoyment of their savoury repast. Such probably in kind was the "savoury meat" which Isaac loved; and with which, in this very neighbourhood, Jacob enticed from him the blessing intended for his elder brother.[1] Our Haweity guide had brought along his family, with two or three camels; and to them the offals of the kid were abandoned. I looked in upon this feast; and found the women boiling the stomach and entrails, which they had merely cleaned by stripping them with the hand, without washing; while the head, unskinned and unopened, was roasting underneath in the embers of a fire made chiefly of camels' dung. With such a meal our Tawarah would hardly have been content. Indeed all the Bedawîn we had yet met with out of the peninsula, the 'Amrân, the Haiwât, the Haweitât, and the Tiyâhah, were obviously upon a lower scale of civilization than the Tawarah; and seemed little if any further removed from savage life, than the red man of the American wilds.

1) Gen. xxvii. 9, seq.

Our guide of the Haweitât was from the country East of the Gulf of 'Akabah and North of the Haj-route. Like so many others of his tribe, he had been driven out by the drought; and had wandered off hither to the South of Syria in search of pasture. We afterwards found similar wanderers in the district around Wady Mûsa. He said that in his country there were many ruined towns, which had never yet been "written down." His tribe have no horses; not one of them, not even the Sheikh, can read; nor did he know of any Bedawy who could. When the Haweitât of that region receive letters, they apply to the Arabs *Hŭdhr*, "townsmen," of Muweilih to have them read. These Haweitât are at enmity with the Arabs of Khaibar.—This guide, as well as our other Arabs, called the wind we had yesterday *Shŭrkîyeh*, an East wind, although it blew from the South.[1] The Simoom, they said, differs from it only in its greater heat; the haze and sand and discoloration of the air being alike in both. Should it overtake a traveller without water, it may in certain circumstances prove fatal to him. He needs water not only to drink; ut it is well to wash the skin. The Simoom, they said, prevails only during the season when the Khamsîn blows in Egypt. This is during the months of April and May.[2]

Friday, April 13th. We started at 5^h 25′, and in five minutes crossed a track leading off N. by W. to the well of Khuweilifeh, situated in a Wady of the same name on the road from Hebron by Dhoherîyeh to Gaza. It was described to us as similar to the smaller well at Bîr es-Seba'.[3] Fifteen minutes more

1) This name Shŭrkîyeh suggests an obvious etymology of the Italian word *sirocco*.

2) Lane's Mod. Egypt. I. pp. 2, 3.

3) See more respecting this well under date of June 7th.

brought us out upon a wide open grassy plain, suffering greatly indeed from drought, but in which many fields of wheat were scattered, looking beautifully in their vesture of bright green. The ground too was in many places decked with flowers; among them were an abundance of low scarlet poppies. The morning was lovely; the sky perfectly serene, with a refreshing breeze from the S. West; the air full of the sweet carols of birds. Thus we spent our first morning in Palestine. It was a delightful entrance to the Promised Land.

The plain over which we now travelled on a course N. E. by E. has an undulating surface, and extends very far towards the S. E. No shrubs nor trees were visible; nothing but grass and flowers and green fields. It reminded me of the vast plains of northern Germany. On the East and North were hills and ridges, the beginning of the mountains of Judah, forming an angle in the N. E. towards which our course led. The plain was much cut up by deep gullies with precipitous banks, mostly running towards the left, worn by the wintry torrents. At 6^h 10′ a track went off to the left towards the N. to a place where the Bedawîn have their magazines of grain, called Nŭttâr el-Lŭkîyeh. About 7 o'clock we crossed a Wady running N. Westerly through the plain; it was said to be the Khuweilifeh, which after passing the well of that name, bends round to join the Wady Seba'. We had however some doubt as to the correctness of this information.

Ten minutes later we crossed the road leading from Gaza to Wady Mûsa and Ma'ân. According to our Haweity guide, it unites with the road from Hebron at or near a well called el-Milh, and then divides and descends to the 'Arabah by two passes called el-Ghârib and er-Râkib. We learned more of this road at a later period; but heard nothing further of this

latter pass.[1] As we advanced, the hills from the N. W. approached more and more to meet those upon the East; and a small Wady was visible descending from the angle. At 8^h 20′ a path went off to the right, which was said to lead to a village in the mountains. At three quarters past eight, the plain terminated; we gan to get among the hills, and entered the Wady above mentioned, which our Arabs chose to call Wady el-Khŭlîl; but whether for any other reason than because it was leading us towards el-Khŭlîl or Hebron, is doubtful. In this valley were fields of grain; and half an hour after entering it, we found a man ploughing with two heifers in order to sow millet. His plough was very simple, and by English and American farmers would be called rude. Yet it did its work well, and was of a much lighter and better construction than the coarse plough of Egypt. The ancient form is not improbably still preserved.

We now began to ascend more rapidly; the limestone hills on each side became rocky and higher, and were green with grass; while low trees were occasionally scattered over them. Among these the Butm, *Pistacia Terebinthus* of Linnaeus, the Terebinth of the Old Testament, was the most frequent. We noticed here red clover growing wild along our path. At $9\frac{3}{4}$ o'clock we reached the head of the valley, and came out upon a ridge, from which a very steep descent brought us to the bottom of another deep and narrow Wady coming down from the N. E. This latter here turned short towards the S. E. We could learn neither its name, nor in what direction its waters were ultimately carried off; but we afterwards found that it joins the great valley which passes down further East from near Hebron to Wady es-Seba'. Our path now follow-

1) See under date of June 2d and 3d.

ed up this Wady, still on a general course N. E. by E. It is quite narrow and winds much among the hills; so that it seemed to be almost interminable. The sides were rocky, but clothed with grass and the shrub Bellân, a sort of furze. Here we met several wild savage-looking Arabs; and further on, a man on horseback, the first we had seen since leaving Egypt. He was on a sleek mare, which brought him rapidly down the steep rocky side of one of the hills. The bottom of the valley in its steeper parts was formerly laid off into terraces, of which the massive walls still remain; but nothing more. After some time flocks of sheep and goats mingled together were seen feeding on the hills; and we fell in with other flocks consisting of young kids alone. Not long after, we came upon herds of neat cattle and donkies grazing; and at length, at a quarter past 11 o'clock, got sight of the village of edh-Dhoherîyeh on the summit of a hill terminating the Wady, the head of which here opens out into a green basin. This and the hills around were covered with flocks and neat cattle in the ancient patriarchal style, with many horses, asses, and camels, all in fine order; and affording to us a most pleasing prospect, after having been for thirty days confined to the dreary nakedness of the desert. We reached Dhoherîyeh at $11^h\ 35'$.

Our Tawarah Arabs had always said, that they could take us only as far as to this village, the first on this road within the borders of Syria. They had represented it too as being very near to Hebron. The Bedawîn never bring travellers or loads further than this point; as the inhabitants, living on the great road from Hebron to Gaza and Egypt, have the monopoly of transporting all goods and passengers that come by way of the desert. Our first object therefore was to obtain the means of proceeding without delay to

Hebron; the day being not yet half spent. We sought for the Sheikh of the village, but he was absent. The person who acted for him, we found sitting with a number of the inhabitants. He informed us that we could obtain no animals until the next day; when they would engage to take us through to Jerusalem. To all our pressing solicitations to be sent forward immediately, they turned a deaf ear; probably because they did not wish to stop for the night with us at Hebron; but they said our Arabs might go on with us, if they would. This we then proposed; but the Tawarah said they were strangers here, and feared that if they went to Hebron their camels would be pressed for the service of the government; a thing not at all unusual, as we knew. We now tried to ascertain the distance to Hebron; thinking we could perhaps send one of our servants thither and obtain animals. Some said it was three, some four, and some five hours distant; nor was it till we had actually travelled over the ground ourselves, that we arrived at any certainty; and then we found the largest estimate correct.—Under all the circumstances, much as we wished to get on, we felt compelled to have the camels unloaded, and the tent pitched. This was done for the first time on *green* grass, and among olive-trees, in the basin just below the village on the S. E. Our intention was to pay off and dismiss our Tawarah; and then, if possible, obtain animals from Hebron.

We found no difficulty in satisfying all our Arabs, whose camels had brought loads from the convent; but an unexpected question arose in the case of Tuweileb. We had regarded him merely as taking the place of Beshârah, as head of the party and guide; which, according to the express stipulation of our contract, he was to do without additional expense to

us, except such slight presents as we might choose to give him. I have already mentioned, that he had brought with him two extra camels, apparently for himself and children; one of which had been taken into our service at 'Akabah, instead of a camel which had died by the way. But his views, it seems, in entering upon the journey, had been different from ours; and Beshârah had told him, that we would take him as Sheikh of the party, and pay him the hire of a dromedary for himself; or rather, would make him an equivalent and generous present. Thus the animal, which all along upon the journey had been nothing more than a broken down camel, was now suddenly transformed into the dromedary of a Sheikh. We had already paid him enough, as we supposed; but this was a higher claim, touching his honour as a Sheikh and as a Bedawy. He had been understood to come as the Sheikh of our party; he had consented that his dromedary should bear a burden for our accommodation; and now both he and his dromedary would be forever degraded in the eyes of his tribe, unless we made him a fitting present for a Sheikh. To all this we had nothing to reply, except the words of our contract, which he could not read. We cut the matter short at last, by giving him our old pistols, which he had usually paraded in his girdle on the way, and which we had bought for a trifle in Cairo. With this present he seemed highly gratified. But we were not sure that he did not immediately sell the pistols in the village; where fire-arms were sought with avidity, in consequence of the disarming of the people by the Egyptian government.

We had on the whole been much pleased with Tuweileb; although, as I have already remarked, he had seen his best days, and for much of the time had been quite unwell. He was uniformly kind, patient,

accommodating, and faithful ; and until now had shown himself less a beggar than his companions. He gave us his adieu by repeatedly kissing each on both cheeks, in addition to the usual kiss of the hand. We parted with our Tawarah Arabs with regret and with the kindest feelings. For thirty days they had now been our companions and guides through the desert; and not the slightest difficulty had arisen between us. On the contrary, they had done all in their power to lighten the toils of our journey, and protect us from discomforts by the way. In all our subsequent journeyings, we found no guides so faithful and devoted.

By this time it was too late to think of reaching Hebron. We therefore sent and engaged camels for Jerusalem, to take us and our luggage at midnight, and reach the Holy City before the next evening. The journey through the desert had made such inroads upon our stores, that the Sheikh of the camels required us to take only six, instead of the nine which had brought us thus far. They were however much larger and stouter than those of the Bedawîn.

The village of Dhoherîyeh lies high, and is visible from a great distance in every direction. It is a rude assemblage of stone hovels; many of which are half under ground, and others broken down. A castle or fortress apparently once stood here; the remains of a square tower are still to be seen, now used as a dwelling; and the door-ways of many hovels are of hewn stone with arches. It would seem to have been one of the line of small fortresses, which apparently once existed all along the southern border of Palestine. The village contains, according to the government census, one hundred full-grown men; of whom thirty-eight had been taken at three separate times for the Egyptian army. Though half in ruins, it is yet rich in flocks and herds, and has at least a hundred camels.

The inhabitants are Hŭdhr, or townsmen; and belong to the party called Keis. Most of the villagers in this quarter are of this party; as well as some of the Bedawîn.

The country around looks barren; the limestone rocks come out in large blocks and masses upon the sides and tops of the hills; and give a whitish cast to the whole landscape. No trees were visible; nor any fields of grain, except in the bottoms of the narrow vallies. Indeed the aspect of the whole region was stern and dreary. Yet it must be a fine grazing country; as is proved by the fat and sleek condition of the herds and flocks; and by its having been, from the days of Abraham onward, a place of resort for nomadic herdsmen.

Towards evening we went to the top of a hill just East of our tent; but could see nothing all around save rocky hills and swells. On one of these in the direction E. by S. was a ruined castle; which proved to be Semû'a, on the road from Wady Mûsa to Hebron. In its immediate vicinity, the Arabs said there were two other like ruins; one called 'Attîr, and the other Hŭsn el-Ghŭrâb. Of the latter we heard no more; but saw the former place as we afterwards returned from Wady Mûsa through Semû'a.

During the evening we lay down and slept. At the rising of the moon, about 10 o'clock, the camels came, and we fixed the time for loading at half-past twelve; not wishing to reach Hebron before day. They all, camels and men, lay down upon the ground, and were soon in deep sleep. My companions also lay down; while I sat up alone to watch during the few hours that yet remained.

Saturday, April 14*th.* Half an hour after midnight we mustered again, and set to work on the luggage; but such was the inefficiency and stupidity of

our new camel-drivers, that nearly two hours elapsed, before we could mount. One camel proved refractory and refused its load; and another had to be brought from the village in its stead. We started at length at $2\frac{1}{4}$ o'clock; but in descending the long and steep hill from the village, we were delayed nearly three quarters of an hour by the necessity of repacking one of the loads; and this with various other hindrances, caused us to lose not less than an hour upon the way. The course from Dhoherîyeh to Hebron, as we afterwards found by observation, is N. 54° E. The hill we first descended is very steep and rocky; and the path winds down among the stones. It brought us to the bottom of a deep valley, running towards the right, probably to the great Wady which drains the region around Hebron. The road continued to wind among vallies and over hills; but the darkness prevented us from observing much of the country. The hills, we could see, began to be covered with shrubs; and these increased as we advanced, and were intermingled with evergreen or prickly oaks, arbutus, and other dwarf trees and bushes. At half-past five there was a spring of living water; the first we had seen.

As the sun rose we heard upon the left the bleating of flocks and the crowing of cocks, as if from a village. On inquiring, we were told that there was none; but a company of peasants were living there in caves, pasturing their flocks. In summer, it was said, a large portion of the peasantry leave their villages, and dwell in caves or ruins, in order to be nearer to their flocks and fields. At 6^h $10'$ there was another fountain with a square reservoir below it on the right; and ten minutes further on, a running brook, the first we had seen since leaving the Nile. This was in a Wady called ed-Dilbeh, running off to the right, and

partially cultivated. Near by was the site of a ruined village, called ed-Daumeh.

The camels we now had, were huge, fat, and powerful, each stronger than any two of our former Bedawîn animals. At the same time they were harder in their gait, treading more firmly, from being accustomed to carry only burdens and not to travel as dromedaries. Two of the owners had started with us; but soon abandoned us under the pretext of speedily returning, leaving us and their animals to the care of two ordinary camel-drivers and a young Nubian slave, who all knew nothing of the country except what lay just upon the road. As we advanced, the hills were more thickly clothed with bushes, and covered with great quantities of the Za'ter, a species or thyme, scented almost like balm, and used in cooking. At 7^h 20′ we left the direct road to Jerusalem, which passes on the left of Hebron, and turned somewhat more to the right. Crossing a ridge we came at a quarter before 8 o'clock to a little valley with many olive-trees and enclosed vineyards, indicating our approach to a land of higher cultivation. The region around Hebron abounds with vineyards, and the grapes are the finest in Palestine. Each vineyard has a small house or tower of stone, which serves for a keeper's lodge; and, during the vintage, we were told that the inhabitants of Hebron go out and dwell in these houses, and the town is almost deserted. In this little valley every thing looked thrifty; and round about were large flocks of sheep and goats, all in good condition.

Ascending gradually another ridge, we at length from its top saw Hebron, now called el-Khŭlîl, below us in a deep narrow valley running from N. N. W. to S. S. E. into the great Wady which flows off to Wady

es-Seba'. The spot where we were, affords one of the best views of the place. The town lies low down on the sloping sides of this valley, chiefly on the eastern; but in the southern part extends across also to the western side. The houses are all of stone, high and well built, with windows and flat roofs; and on these roofs small domes, sometimes two or three to each house; a mode of building apparently peculiar to Judea, for I do not remember to have seen it further North than Nâbulus. This gave to the city in our eyes a new and rather striking aspect; and the whole appearance was much better than I had anticipated. We descended from the West into the valley by a very rocky path; and halted at $8\frac{1}{4}$ o'clock on the green slope overagainst the northern part of the town; which is partly occupied as a cemetery. We had thus found the distance from Dhoherîyeh to Hebron to be five hours of travel.

We had now reached a most interesting point in our journey. The town before us was one of the most ancient still existing cities mentioned in the Scriptures, or perhaps in the records of the world.[1] Here Abraham and the other patriarchs dwelt and communed with God; and in this vicinity they and their wives were buried. Here too had been for seven years the royal residence of David; and before us was the pool in Hebron, over which he hanged up the murderers of his rival Ishbosheth.[2] In Hebron too he probably composed many of his Psalms, which yet thrill through the soul and lift it up to God. Our minds were deeply affected by all these associations, and we would fain have devoted the day to a closer examination of the place. But the strong desire we felt of reaching Jerusalem before night, and thus closing our long and

1) Gen. xiii. 18.

2) 2 Sam. iv. 12.

wearisome journey; together with the expectation we cherished of revisiting Hebron at a later time; induced us to forego all other considerations, and press forward as soon as possible to Jerusalem. Nearly six weeks afterwards we spent several days in Hebron; and I therefore defer a fuller account of the city and its neighbourhood until that time.[1]

Taking a hasty ramble through the streets of Hebron, we were again upon our way at $9\frac{1}{4}$ o'clock, after a stop of a single hour. The road to Jerusalem is rough and mountainous, but very direct; the general course being between N. E. by N. and N. N. E. As we issued from the town, the path for a short distance was full of mud and puddles from a spring near by; and to us, coming out of the desert, this was quite a refreshing sight. The road leads up the valley for a short time; and then up a branch coming from the N. E. The path is here paved; or rather laid unevenly with large stones, in the manner of a Swiss mountain road. It passes between the walls of vineyards and olive-yards; the former chiefly in the valley, and the latter on the slopes of the hills, which are in many parts built up in terraces. These vineyards are very fine, and produce the largest and best grapes in all the country. This valley is generally assumed to be the Eshcol of the Old Testament, whence the spies brought back the cluster of grapes to Kadesh; and apparently not without reason. The character of its fruit still corresponds to its ancient celebrity; and pomegranates and figs, as well as apricots, quinces, and the like, still grow there in abundance.[2]

1) See under May 24 and 25.

2) Num. xiii. 23. The situation of Eshcol is not specified in this passage. But in Gen. xiv. 24, we are told that Abraham in his pursuit of the four kings from Hebron, was accompanied by his friends Aner, Eshcol, and Mamre. Now Mamre gave his name to the terebinth near Hebron, by which Abraham dwelt (Gen. xiii. 18); and in like manner, the name of the valley was not improbably derived from that of his companion Eshcol.

This road bears every mark of having always been a great high-way between Hebron and Jerusalem. It is direct; and in many parts artificially made, evidently in times of old. But wheels certainly never passed here; the hills are too sharp and steep, and the surface of the ground too thickly strewn with rocks, to admit of the possibility of vehicles being used in this mountainous region, without the toilsome construction of artificial roads, such as never yet existed here. Indeed we nowhere read of wheeled carriages in connection with the country south of Jerusalem; except where Joseph is said to have sent waggons to bring down his father Jacob into Egypt. These came to Hebron; and Jacob travelled with them thence to Beersheba.[1] We had this circumstance in mind on our journey from Beersheba to Hebron; and long before reaching Dhoherîyeh, we were convinced, that waggons for the patriarch could not have passed by that route. Still, by taking a more circuitous course up the great Wady el-Khŭlîl, more to the right, they might probably reach Hebron through the vallies without great difficulty.

In about three quarters of an hour we came to the head of the valley; the vineyards ceased; we came out upon an open tract, having on our left at 10 o'clock the ruins of a village once inhabited by Christians, now called Khurbet el-Nŭsârah. The inhabitants, it was said, were massacred by the Muslims; and now there are no Christians in all the province of Hebron.

At one hour from Hebron a blind path went off to the right at right angles, leading to Tekû'a; and on it, about five minutes' walk from our road, are the foundations of an immense building, which excited our curiosity. We ran thither on foot, leaving our beasts

1) Gen. xlv. 19, 21, 27. xlvi. 1.

to proceed slowly; and found the substructions of an edifice, which would seem to have been commenced on a large scale, but never completed. They consist of two walls apparently of a large enclosure; one facing towards the S. W. two hundred feet long; and the other at right angles facing N. W. one hundred and sixty feet long, with a space left in the middle of it as if for a portal. There are only two courses of hewn stones above ground, each three feet four inches high; one of the stones measured fifteen and a half feet long by three and one third feet thick. In the N. W. angle is a well or cistern arched over, but not deep. There are no stones nor ruins of any kind lying around, to mark that these walls were ever carried higher. It is difficult to say, judging merely from the remains themselves, what could have been the object for which the building was intended. It may have been a church; though it does not lie, like most ancient churches, in the direction from West to East. Or it might possibly have been begun as a fortress; though there would seem to be nothing in the vicinity to guard. At any rate, these walls cannot have been constructed later than the first centuries after the Christian era, and the size of the stones points rather to an earlier age. The spot is called by the Arabs Râmet el-Khŭlîl. The Jews of Hebron call it the House of Abraham; and regard this as the place of Abraham's tent and terebinth at Mamre. May we not perhaps suppose, that these massive walls are indeed the work of Jewish hands, erected here in ancient days around the spot where the founder of their race had dwelt? On such a supposition, the structure would have corresponded to that around his sepulchre in Hebron.[1]

1) See the Haram under May 24th.—This Jewish tradition and name is at least as old as the crusades; Benj. de Tud. Voyages par

The country was still rocky and uneven, though somewhat cultivated. At $10\frac{3}{4}$ o'clock a ruined mosk, called Neby Yûnas (Prophet Jonah), was upon a long hill parallel to our road on the right, at the distance of half an hour or more, looking much like the church of a New England village. Around this mosk, as we afterwards learned, are the remains of walls and foundations, marking an ancient site. The place is called by the Arabs Hŭlhûl; doubtless the ancient Halhul, a city in the mountains of Judah, which Jerome places near to Hebron.[1] Another road from Hebron to Jerusalem, which some of our friends took a few weeks later, leads by this place. We saw it again from the East on a subsequent excursion from Jerusalem; but did not visit it.[2] Along the eastern side of the same hill, runs the great valley, which passing down S. W. to Wady es-Seba', drains the whole region around Hebron and Dhoherîyeh.

A large village was now visible in the N. N. E. at the distance of an hour or more, called Beit Ummar; but we did not observe it afterwards. At $11^h\ 10'$ there was on our left a ruined tower, perhaps of the time of

Barat. p. 101. If the supposition in the text be not admissible, these remains may perhaps be regarded as belonging to the church erected by order of Constantine, near the supposed place of Abraham's terebinth; see Euseb. Vit. Const. III. 51—53, and Valesius' Notes on c. 53. Hieron. Onomast. art. *Arboch* and *Drys*. The Itin. Hieros. in A. D. 333, speaks of this church as two Roman miles from Hebron towards Jerusalem. According to Sozomen it was 15 stadia in the same direction; Hist. Ecc. II. 4. Adamnanus mentions here these walls as of a church; lib. II. 11. See generally Reland Palaest. p. 711, seq. Josephus on the other hand places the terebinth of Mamre at only six stadia from Hebron; B. J. IV. 9. 7.—The English version has less correctly *plain* of Mamre; Gen. xiii. 18, etc.

1) Josh. xv. 58. Hieron. Onomast. art. *Elul*.

2) It is also mentioned by Ibn Batûta in the fourteenth century as the tomb of Jonah; see his Travels translated by Prof. Lee, Lond. 1829. p. 20. Niebuhr seems first to have heard the name Hŭlhûl, as a village where the Jews venerate the tomb of the prophet Nathan; Reisebeschr. III. p. 69. Schubert visited the place in 1837, and makes a similar report of the tomb of Nathan and of ancient walls; but seems not to have heard the name Hŭlhûl. Reise II. p. 487.

the crusades; and in five minutes more we came to a fountain on the right with a stone trough, and with ruins around as of a former fortress. The stones are very large, and the adjacent rocks hewn away to a perpendicular face. The place is called ed-Dirweh.[1] The country now became more open. The vallies were wider and apparently fertile; and the hills were covered with bushes, arbutus, and dwarf oaks, exhibiting also in their terraced sides the traces of ancient cultivation. This tract seemed to be full of partridges; whose calling and clucking we heard on every side. Crossing a valley obliquely, we came at a quarter past noon to the ruins of another village called Abu Fîd, with olive-trees and tillage around, and a reservoir of rain-water. Here we could see the road at some distance before us, ascending the side of a long ridge. Half an hour further on, there was another ruined tower upon our left. The road up the ascent just mentioned, is artificial; half way up is a cistern of rain-water, and an open place of prayer for the Muhammedan traveller. From the top, the path descends into a long straight valley, which it follows for an hour, called Wady et-Tuheishimeh. At $2\frac{1}{4}$ o'clock the hills became higher and more rocky; the valley narrower and winding; while the road ascends obliquely on the left, and bends around the eastern point of a high hill, leaving the valley very deep below

1) In afterwards searching for the site of the ancient Beth-zur, this place recurred to our minds. That city was probably not far from Halhul (Josh. xv. 58), on the way from Jerusalem to Hebron, near a fountain; Euseb. et Hieron. Onomast. art. *Bethsur*. But Euseb. and Jerome both place Bethzur at 20 miles from Jerusalem, and of course only two miles from Hebron; while this spot is two hours with camels, or some five Roman miles from the latter place. The *Itin. Hieros.* makes it eleven miles from Hebron.—This certainly cannot have been the water at which the eunuch was baptized; for he was driving in his chariot towards Gaza, and never could have passed on this route. Acts viii. 26, seq. Comp. Schubert's Reise, II. p. 488. See more under June 7th.

on the right. In this part of it are the ruins of a large square building, perhaps once a convent; and here too was the scene of one of the battles between Ibrahim Pasha and the rebel Fellâhs in A. D. 1834. The valley passes on towards the right, and further down (as I suppose) receives that which descends from Solomon's Pools, and so runs to the Dead Sea.

Our road now crossed the ridge obliquely towards the left; and brought us at half past two to a narrow valley descending towards the East. Along the side of the northern hill was an aqueduct, which, as we afterwards found, passes around the eastern end of the same hill and enters the lower Pool. Crossing this ridge we came upon the more open valley in which are the Pools. This also descends towards the East; receives the Wady we had just crossed; and further on unites with Wady et-Tuheishimeh. From the hill, we could see before us, at a distance across the valley, the little village and former church of St. George, called by the Arabs el-Khŭdr.[1] Our path led us along the upper end of the upper Pool, which we reached at $2\frac{3}{4}$ o'clock. There are three of these immense reservoirs, lying one above another in the sloping valley, and bearing every mark of high antiquity. A small aqueduct is carried from them along the sides of the hills to Bethlehem and Jerusalem. Their name in Arabic is el-Burak. Close by is a large square Saracenic fortress, called Kŭl'at el-Burak; which seemed now to be inhabited only by the keeper of the Pools.

We stopped for half an hour, and took a hasty survey of the reservoirs; but as we afterwards visited them again and examined them more at leisure, I defer the description of them for the present.[2] A road passes from hence to Bethlehem along the aqueduct; but as

1) See under May 17th. 2) See under May 8th.

we wished to press forward, we took one more direct, which leads obliquely up the gentle ascent N. of the Pools; setting off at a quarter past three o'clock. The path passes afterwards over a level, but exceedingly rocky tract, and was difficult for the camels. Our road lay nearly half a mile to the left of Bethlehem, which we saw from a distance; but it was afterwards hidden from us by the intervening hill. The Arab name is Beit Lahm. On our left was the head of a valley, running at first parallel to our course, and then bending to the N. W. around a hill on the left, towards the Mediterranean. It is here called Wady Ahmed. On the eastern slope of this hill, overagainst Bethlehem, lies the large village of Beit Jâla, inhabited like Bethlehem by Christians, and surrounded by olive-groves extending into the valley. At 4^h 10′ we were opposite Bethlehem, between it and Beit Jâla. The road then passes along a low swell or ridge between Wady Ahmed on the left, and the head of a Wady on the right, which flows off N. of Bethlehem to the Dead Sea.

Someways up the gentle acclivity, which here rises towards the N. E. from Wady Ahmed, stands the Kubbet Râhîl, or Rachel's Tomb, which we reached at 4^h 25′. This is merely an ordinary Muslim Wely, or tomb of a holy person; a small square building of stone with a dome, and within it a tomb in the ordinary Muhammedan form; the whole plastered over with mortar. Of course the building is not ancient; in the seventh century there was here only a pyramid of stones.[1] It is now neglected, and falling to decay; though pilgrimages are still made to it by the Jews. The naked walls are covered with names in several

1) Adamnanus ex Arculfo, II. 7.—The present building had formerly open arches on the four sides, which were walled up about a century ago. It seems to have been built before Edrîsi's day; see Edrîsi, p. 345. ed. Jaub. Comp. Cotov. Itin. p. 245. Pocoke II. p. 39.

languages; many of them in Hebrew. The general correctness of the tradition which has fixed upon this spot for the tomb of Rachel, cannot well be drawn in question; since it is fully supported by the circumstances of the Scriptural narrative. It is also mentioned by the *Itin. Hieros.* A. D. 333, and by Jerome in the same century.[1]

Still ascending the hill towards the Greek convent of Mâr-Elyâs, the road passes to the left around the head of a deep valley running off eastward to the Dead Sea; and affords a wide view out over the mountainous regions towards and beyond that sea, including Bethlehem and the Frank mountain. The deep basin of the sea could also be in part made out; but its waters were not visible. Here we began to see traces of the pilgrims now collected in Jerusalem at the festival of Easter. A large number of their horses were feeding on this spot, guarded at the moment only by a single man. The animals were sleek and in good case; and had no appearance of having made a long journey. The same night, as we afterwards learned, the keepers were attacked by robbers; one man was killed; another wounded; and some of the horses driven off.

At 4^h 55′ we came opposite the convent of Mâr Elyâs, which lies on the brow of the high ridge, overlooking Bethlehem and the deep valley around which we had just passed; while towards the North the descent is small, and the waters run again towards the Mediterranean. Here we got our first view of a portion of the Holy City,—the mosk and other high buildings standing on Mount Zion without the walls. As we advanced we had on the right low hills; and on the left the cultivated valley or plain of Rephaim or the Giants, with gentle hills beyond. This plain is

1) Gen. xxxv. 16—20. Hieron. Epist. lxxxvi. ad Eustoch. Epitaph. Paulæ, Opp. Tom. IV. ii. p. 674. ed. Mart.

broad, and descends gradually towards the S. W. until it contracts in that direction into a deeper and narrower valley, called Wady el-Werd, which unites further on with Wady Ahmed, and finds its way to the Mediterranean.[1] Along this plain we met many people, mostly Christians, men, women and children, returning from Jerusalem. It was now the eve of Easter Sunday; and the miracle of the Greek holy fire had just been performed. They were dressed in their best attire, and seemed light-hearted and gay.

The plain of Rephaim extends nearly to the city; which, as seen from it, appears to be almost on the same level. As we advanced, the plain was terminated by a slight rocky ridge, forming the brow of the valley of Hinnom. This deep and narrow dell, with steep rocky sides, often precipitous, here comes down from the North from as far as the Yâfa Gate; and sweeping around Mount Zion at almost a right angle, descends with great rapidity into the very deep valley of Jehoshaphat. The southern side of Zion is very steep, though not precipitous; while the great depth of the valley of Jehoshaphat struck me with surprise. We crossed the valley of Hinnom opposite the S. W. corner of Zion; and passed up along the eastern side of the valley to the Hebron or Yâfa Gate. On our left was the Lower Pool, an immense reservoir now broken down and dry. Above this the aqueduct from Solomon's Pools curves across the valley on very low arches. At length, at 6 o'clock, we entered the Holy City, *el-Kuds*, just at the closing of the gates on the evening before Easter Sunday; and found a welcome home in the houses of our missionary friends and countrymen.

1) Josephus says expressly, that the valley of the Giants (Rephaim) was near Jerusalem, and extended towards Bethlehem; Antiq. VII. 4. 1. VII. 12. 4. See also Josh. xv. 8. xviii. 16. 2 Sam. v. 18, 22. xxiii. 13, 14.

This was the most fatiguing day of our whole journey. We had been for sixteen hours almost constantly upon our camels; yet the exhaustion arose more from want of rest and sleep, than from any great exertion.—The distance between Hebron and Jerusalem is definitely given by Eusebius and Jerome at twenty-two Roman miles; equivalent to about seventeen and a half geographical miles. Our time between the two cities was eight and a quarter hours with camels; affording a coincidence sufficiently exact.

SECTION VI.

JERUSALEM.

INCIDENTS AND FIRST IMPRESSIONS.

The feelings of a Christian traveller on approaching Jerusalem, can be better conceived than described. Mine were strongly excited. Before us, as we drew near, lay Zion, the Mount of Olives, the Vales of Hinnom and Jehoshaphat, and other objects of the deepest interest; while, crowning the summits of the same ancient hills, was spread out the city where God of old had dwelt, and where the Saviour of the world had lived and taught and died. From the earliest childhood I had read of and studied the localities of this sacred spot; now I beheld them with my own eyes; and they all seemed familiar to me, as if the realization of a former dream. I seemed to be again among cherished scenes of childhood, long unvisited, indeed, but distinctly recollected; and it was almost a painful interruption, when my companion (who had been here before) began to point out and name the various objects in view.

At length "our feet stand within thy gates, O Jerusalem!—Peace be within thy walls and prosperity within thy palaces!" We entered the Yâfa Gate, passed the small open place within, and descended the steep and narrow way along the head of the ancient Tyropoeon, or Valley of the Cheesemakers,

until we came to the first street leading North below the Pool of Hezekiah. In this street nearly against the middle of the Pool, was the residence of the Rev. Mr. Whiting, where we stopped for a few moments, while our camels were unloaded and dismissed. Thence proceeding a little further North, we crossed down through the court of the church of the Holy Sepulchre to the next parallel street; and turning to the left a few steps we entered the first right-hand lane, and found ourselves after two or three doors at the dwelling of the Rev. Mr. Lanneau. Here a home was already prepared for us; where we remained during our sojourn in the city. Both these gentlemen are our countrymen; and had already been established in the Holy City as Missionaries for several years. The house of the latter was one of the better class; it was large, with marble floors; and had on one side an extensive and pleasant garden, with orange and other fruit-trees and many flowers. It furnished indeed one of the most desirable and healthful residences in the city. Yet the rent was less than fifty Spanish dollars per annum.

In the houses of our friends, we found collected all the members of the Syrian Mission, with a single exception, from the stations at Beirût and in Cyprus; and one also from the Mission at Constantinople.[1] They had come up with their families, like the Hebrews of old, at the time of the Passover, to worship in this place, and to consult together on the best measures for promoting the great work in which they were engaged. Among the eight missionaries thus assembled, it was with feelings of no ordinary gratification, that I could welcome five as former friends and

1) I speak here of course only of Missionaries sent out by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, which has its central offices in Boston.

pupils. In those days of former intercourse, we had never thought thus to see each other on earth upon Mount Zion; and so much the more deeply did we all now feel and prize the high privilege of meeting on this sacred spot, where we might again "take sweet counsel together, and walk unto the house of God in company."

I have already remarked, that as we crossed the valley of Hinnom, I was particularly struck with its rapid descent, and the great depth of the vale of Jehoshaphat or the Kidron, into which it opens. In the city itself, the steepness of the streets which descend towards the East was greater than I had anticipated. But on entering the gates of Jerusalem, apart from the overpowering recollections which naturally rush upon the mind, I was in many respects agreeably disappointed. From the descriptions of Chateaubriand and other travellers, I had expected to find the houses of the city miserable, the streets filthy, and the population squalid. Yet the first impression made upon my mind was of a different character; nor did I afterwards see any reason to doubt the correctness of this first impression. The houses are in general better built, and the streets cleaner, than those of Alexandria, Smyrna, or even Constantinople. Indeed, of all the oriental cities which it was my lot to visit, Jerusalem, after Cairo, is the cleanest and most solidly built. The streets indeed are narrow, and very rudely paved; like those of all cities in the East. The houses are of hewn stone, often large, and furnished with the small domes upon the roofs, which have been already mentioned at Hebron, as perhaps peculiar to the district of Judea. These domes seem to be not merely for ornament; but are intended, on account of the scarcity of timber, to aid in supporting and strengthening the otherwise flat roofs. There is usually one or more

over each room in a house; and they serve also to give a greater elevation and an architectural effect to the ceiling of the room, which rises within them. The streets and the population that throngs them, may also well bear comparison with those of any other oriental city; although if one seeks here, or elsewhere in the East, for the general cleanliness and thrift which characterize many cities of Europe and America, he will of course seek in vain.

Sunday, April 15th. This was the Christian Sabbath, and it was also Easter Sunday. It was in a special manner a "great day" in Jerusalem, inasmuch as the Easter of the Romish and that of the Oriental churches, which usually occur on different days, fell together for the present year. During Easter-week, the city had been thronged, though not very fully, with pilgrims. These were mostly Greeks and Armenians; very few Latins were seen; and only now and then a straggling Copt. The whole number had been less than usual. The annual excursion to the Jordan had been made, in which some of our friends had joined; and the annual mockery of the Greek holy fire had taken place just before we entered the city. The Latins too had enacted their mummery, representing the scenes of the crucifixion. In consequence of our late arrival, we thus missed all the incidents of the Holy week. This however we counted as no loss, but rather a gain; for the object of our visit was the city itself, in relation to its ancient renown and religious associations; not as seen in its present state of decay and supersitious or fraudful degradation. The Jews also were celebrating their Passover; and our friends had received a present of some of their unleavened bread. It was spread out into very thin sheets, almost like paper, very white, and also very delicate and palatable. Thus to all the inhabitants, except to the

Muhammedans; and to all the strangers who were present, save the few Protestants; this was the greatest festival of the year.

The different sects of Christians who have possession of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, had of course been compelled to alternate in their occupancy of it, and in the performance of their religious ceremonies. On this last "high day" of the festival, the Greeks held their grand Mass at the Sepulchre before break of day; and the Latins followed at 9 o'clock. I looked in for a few moments, with my friend Mr. Homes, upon this latter ceremonial. Few persons were present, except those engaged in the service. These few were all below in the body of the church; in the galleries there were no spectators. The reputed sepulchre, as is well known, stands in the middle of the spacious rotunda, directly beneath the centre of the great dome, which is open to the sky. The high altar was placed directly before the door of the sepulchre; so that we could not enter the latter. The ceremonies we saw consisted only in a procession of the monks and others marching around the sepulchre; stopping occasionally to read a portion of the Gospel; and then again advancing with chanting and singing. I was struck with the splendour of their robes, stiff with embroidery of silver and gold, the well-meant offerings probably of Catholics out of every country of Europe; but I was not less struck with the vulgar and unmeaning visages that peered out from these costly vestments. The wearers looked more like ordinary ruffians, than like ministers of the cross of Christ. Indeed there is reason to believe, that the Latin monks in Palestine are actually for the most part ignorant and often illiterate men, chiefly from Spain, the refuse of her monks and clergy, who come or are sent hither as into a sort of exile, where they serve to excite the sympathies and the misplaced

charities of the Catholics of Europe. There was hardly a face among all those before us, that could be called intelligent. A few fine-looking French naval officers, and one or two Irish Catholics, had joined the procession; but seemed quite out of place, and as if ashamed of their companions.

I make these remarks merely as relating a matter of fact; and not, I trust, out of any spirit of prejudice against the Romish church or her clergy. I had once spent the Holy week in Rome itself; and there admired the intelligent and noble countenances of many of the clergy and monks congregated in that city. For this very reason the present contrast struck me the more forcibly and disagreeably. The whole scene indeed was to a Protestant painful and revolting. It might perhaps have been less so, had there been manifested the slightest degree of faith in the genuineness of the surrounding objects; but even the monks themselves do not pretend, that the present sepulchre is any thing more than an imitation of the original. But to be in the ancient city of the Most High, and to see these venerated places and the very name of our holy religion profaned by idle and lying mummeries; while the proud Mussulman looks on with haughty scorn; all this excited in my mind a feeling too painful to be borne; and I never visited the place again.

We now repaired to the house of Mr Whiting; where in a large upper-room our friends had long established regular divine service in English every Sunday; in which they were assisted by Mr. Nicolayson, the able Missionary of the English Church, sent out hither by the London Missionary Society for the Jews. We found a very respectable congregation, composed of all the missionary families, besides several European travellers of rank and name. It was, I presume, the largest Protestant congregation ever col-

lected within the walls of the Holy City; and it was gratifying to see Protestants of various names here laying aside all distinctions, and uniting with one heart to declare by their example in Jerusalem itself, that "God is a Spirit; and they that worship him, must worship him in spirit and in truth."[1] The simplicity and spirituality of the Protestant worship was to me affecting and doubly pleasing, in contrast with the pageant of which we had just been spectators.

Early in the afternoon we were also present at the service in Arabic, which the same Missionaries had established in the house of Mr. Lanneau, and which was then regularly attended by some twenty or thirty Arab Christians of the Greek rite.[2] These were men of respectable appearance, merchants and others; and seemed to yield attention to the things which they heard.

It may not be out of place here to remark, that the object of the American Missions to Syria and other parts of the Levant, is not to draw off members of the Oriental churches to Protestantism; but to awaken them to a knowledge and belief of the Gospel-truth, in the purity and simplicity of its original scriptural form. To this end all the efforts of the Missionaries are directed; in the hope, that individuals thus enlightened, and remaining, if they choose, within the pale of their own churches, may by degrees become instrumental in infusing into the latter life and vigour and a love of the truth, before which the various forms of error and superstition will of themselves vanish away. The Missionaries would seem thus to have taken the proper course, in going forward simply as preachers of the Gospel, and not as the direct assailants

1) John iv. 24.

2) The great body of the Christians in Palestine are of the Greek church; but they are all native Arabs, and employ only the Arabic language in their worship.

of specific errors; striving to overcome darkness by diffusing light, and not by denouncing it as gross darkness. True, in this way they make less noise; for the mere presentation of truth excites less opposition than the calling in question of long cherished error; but, with the blessing of God, they are likely to reap a more abundant harvest, and exert a larger and more lasting influence in the moral regeneration of the East.

Towards evening, the families again came together in a less formal manner for an hour of prayer and religious exhortation. These various exercises, with others occasionally upon other days, were regularly kept up by the Missionaries whenever circumstances permitted. So long as we remained in the city, they were continued without interruption; but subsequently, the occurrence of the plague broke up all regularity; and other circumstances conspired to suspend wholly, for a time, the labours of the American Mission in Jerusalem.[1]

Monday, April 16*th.* After our long banishment in the desert, I had now of course many letters to write, in order to inform my family and distant friends of our general welfare and safe arrival in the Holy City. Up to the time of our leaving Cairo, there had been no difficulty in despatching letters when we pleased; as the various lines of French and Austrian steamers had already rendered intercourse with the West as direct and frequent, as between different parts of Europe itself. But these facilities had not yet been extended to Syria. The English steamer from

1) Mr. and Mrs. Whiting were compelled a few months later to return for a time to the United States, in consequence of her declining health. Mr. Lanneau was driven by a severe affection of the eyes to Beirût for medical advice, where he remained during the subsequent winter. The mission has been since re-established on a more permanent footing.

Malta to Alexandria came indeed once a month from the latter place to Beirût for a few hours; and this was the only regular mode of sending off letters from Jerusalem to Europe, in connection with a weekly private post, which had just been established to Beirût. The Pasha's line of posts from Cairo to Damascus and Aleppo passed through Gaza and Yâfa, without communicating with Jerusalem. Of this we were able to avail ourselves by transmitting letters to our consular agent at Yâfa, who could thence forward them under cover to the Consuls in Cairo and Alexandria. I did this also once in Gaza; and once an opportunity occurred, of sending by a government express direct from Jerusalem to Alexandria.

The general meeting of the Missionaries was to be one of business, in which several important questions were to be considered and decided. They met this day for the first time; and continued their sessions, morning and afternoon, for about ten days. The time of my companion was necessarily chiefly occupied in these meetings. For myself, I had enough to do at first in the writing of letters and the arrangement of my journals; to say nothing of the reading necessary to prepare upon the spot for a close examination of Jerusalem itself, and for our future excursions into the country round about. I took great pleasure also in attending the meetings of the Missionaries, so far as time and circumstances permitted. It was truly gratifying to observe the spirit of love and harmony by which they were all actuated. On many points, it was hardly to be expected that there should not at first be diversity of opinion; but there was manifestly a strong desire and endeavour, by ripe deliberation and mutual concession, to arrive in every case at some conclusion in which all might cordially unite. The results to which they came, were I believe in every

instance unanimous; and the influence of this meeting and of these deliberations, in strengthening among them the bonds of mutual affection and respect, (if I may judge from my own feelings,) will not soon pass away.

Under the influence of such feelings and impressions, the evening of the following Christian Sabbath was devoted to the celebration of the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. In the "large upper room" of Mr. Whiting's house, where "prayer was wont to be made," eleven sojourners in the Holy City, all Protestant Ministers of the Gospel, and ten of them from the new world, sat down in company with several female friends and others, to celebrate the dying love of the Redeemer, near the spot where the ordinance was first instituted. The occasion, the thrilling recollections which it called up in connection with the city and the Mount of Olives which lay before us; the unexpected coincidences of time, place, and number; all these were deeply impressive, and stamped upon this hour a character of sacredness and profound emotion, that can never be forgotten. In my own case, the thought that this was the one only time of my life, that I could hope to enjoy this high privilege, was inexpressibly solemn.

In occupations and enjoyments like these, there was enough to fill up usefully and agreeably all my time, had I been so disposed. But I had other duties. The object of my journey to Jerusalem was not to visit friends, nor to inquire into the character of the present population, nor to investigate their political or moral state, except as incidental points. My one great object was the city itself, in its topographical and historical relations, its site, its hills, its dales, its remains of antiquity, the traces of its ancient popula-

tion; in short, every thing connected with it that could have a bearing upon the illustration of the Scriptures. In all these respects, our friends, who had been long upon the ground, were ready and desirous to lend a helping hand; and although they were much occupied with the business before them, yet we often found time at morning or evening, and occasionally during the day, to take frequent and sometimes long walks through the more interesting portions of the city and its environs. Time and again we visited the more important spots, and repeated our observations; comparing meanwhile what we had seen ourselves with the accounts of ancient writers and former travellers, until at length conjectures or opinions were ripened into conviction or gradually abandoned. Our motto was in the words, though not exactly in the sense of the Apostle: "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good." During the same interval, I also took many measurements both within and around the city.

These repeated examinations of the same objects gave henceforth to our researches in Jerusalem a more desultory character; which renders it difficult, or at least not advisable, to record them any further in the form of a Journal. It will therefore be my endeavour, after describing a few of our most interesting walks in and around Jerusalem, and some of the incidents of our residence there, to bring together in another Section the results of our researches relative to the topography and antiquities of the city, interweaving so far as may be necessary the slighter incidents personal to ourselves; thus presenting a general description of the place and its environs. In this way, and with the aid of the accompanying Plan, the reader will be best able to follow out our researchcs; and judge for himself of the grounds on which our conclusions rest.

In these walks, our main object was, not so much

to investigate, as to obtain a general impression of the city and its environs, in order to prepare the way for more particular examination at another time. I describe them here with the same intent, and in order to impart the same general impression to the reader; reserving a more detailed account of the various objects, and the questions as to their identity, to the subsequent pages.

ZION, SILOAM, ETC.

Our first walk was on Tuesday, April 17th, after having dined with our friend Mr. Nicolayson, at his house near the Jews' quarter on the northern part of Zion. Towards evening, our host, Mr. Smith, and myself, went out of the city by the Yâfa gate, and turning to the left descended the slope along the side of the deep trench which here skirts the castle. This brought us to the bottom of the valley of Hinnom, along which leads for a time the road to Bethlehem by which we had approached on Saturday. Another path quits this almost immediately towards the left, and begins to ascend obliquely the slope of Zion towards the S. W. corner of the city wall, which lies high above the valley. Reaching this latter point, we came out upon the high level part of Zion, not included in the modern city. It is mostly an open tract, in some parts tilled, with a few scattered buildings. The chief of these are the House of Caiphas, so called, now an Armenian convent; and the Muslim Tomb of David with a mosk. A few enclosures of stone-walls are seen round about these buildings and in other parts. But what chiefly attracted our attention now, was the Christian cemeteries, all of which lie upon this open place; first that of the Armenians, nearest to their great convent in the S. W. corner of the city; south

of this, that of the Greeks; and more to the eastward that of the Latins. The graves in these cemeteries are simply marked (if marked at all) by a flat stone laid upon them with an inscription.

In the Latin quarter one inscription struck my eye particularly; it contained the name of my own country, and marked the grave of a young American. Ten years ago I had known him in Paris in the flower of his youth, a favourite in the family of La Fayette, and moving in the gay circles of that gay metropolis. He had soon after wandered off to Egypt and the East; and in 1830 died here alone and friendless in the Latin convent. The epitaph with which the monks have honoured him, declares, that "of his own accord he abjured the errors of Luther and Calvin, and professed the Catholic religion." Poor youth! he knew too little of the doctrines of the Reformers, and still less of those of the Romish church. No friend was near to watch over his last moments; and the strongest inference that can be drawn from the above language is, that in order to be left in quiet he gave assent to all their questions. Or, not improbably the assertion may rest merely on the fact, that in his dying hour, when consciousness perhaps was gone, they administered to him extreme unction. The stone purports to have been placed by "weeping friends,"—rejoicing Catholics of course; for no others could have put an inscription like the following over his grave:

D. O. M.
HIC JACET
C. B. EX AMERICAE REGIONIBUS,
Lugduni Galliae Consul, Hierosolymis tactus intrinsecus sponte
Erroribus Lutheri et Calvini abjectis
Catholicam religionem professus, synanche correptus,
E vita decessit IV nonas Augusti MDCCCXXX,
Aetatis suae
XXV.
Amici moerentes posuere.
Orate pro eo.

Near by is the grave of another Frank, whose death took place under circumstances of peculiar interest. I mean that of Costigan, the Irish traveller, who died in 1835 in consequence of his romantic though rash attempt to explore the Dead Sea in an open boat in the middle of July. He had contrived to have a small boat carried over on camels from the shore of the Mediterranean to the Lake of Tiberias; and thence followed the Jordan down to the Dead Sea. Here he launched forth alone with his Maltese servant upon these waters, and succeeded in reaching the southern extremity; but by some mismanagement, they were left for two or three days without fresh water, exposed to the fierce rays of a cloudless sun, and compelled to row hard to get back to the northern end. After reaching the shore they lay for a whole day, too weak to move, and trying to regain strength by laving each other with the heavy waters of the lake. At length the servant made shift to crawl up to Jericho, where Costigan had left his horse; which was immediately sent to him with a supply of water. He was brought to the village; and the next morning despatched a messenger on his own horse to Mr. Nicolayson, requesting medicine, and expressing fears of his case. This gentleman immediately set off to visit him; and reached him at 2 o'clock on Thursday morning. He found him very ill, with a high intermittent fever. As there could be no hope of his recovery at Jericho, Mr. N. tried every means to get persons to carry him to Jerusalem in a litter; but without success. The only way of removing him, was to sling a large sack of straw on each side of a horse, and then place his bed upon the horse's back. In this way the sufferer was brought to the city with great difficulty; leaving Jericho on Friday evening, and reaching Jerusalem at 8 o'clock the next morning. The journey exhausted

him much; no medicine could be brought to operate; and he died on Monday morning in the Latin convent, where he had a room. No notes, nor any account of his voyage, were found among his papers. These circumstances were related to us by Mr. Nicolayson, as we stood around his grave.[1]

A little to the southward of the Latin cemetery, and adjacent to the N. W. enclosures connected with the mosk and tomb of David, is a small plat of ground, which has been purchased by the American Missionaries as a place of burial for their dead. To this measure they were driven almost by necessity. Two of their members, Mrs. Thomson and Dr. Dodge, had already died in Jerusalem. For the former a grave was sought and obtained without difficulty in the cemetery of the Greeks. In the case of the latter, the same permission was granted, and a grave dug; but as they were about to proceed to the burial, word was brought, that the permission had been recalled and the grave filled up. On a strong representation of the case to the heads of the Greek convent, the burial was allowed to take place, with the express understanding, that a like permission would never more be given. In consequence, the Missionaries purchased this little spot upon Mount Zion, and enclosed it with a common wall of stone. The plat contains two or three olive-trees; and looked green and peaceful; but it was yet untenanted. After the purchase had been made and possession delivered, the authorities of the city hesitated to give it the last legal sanction. They did not object to the transaction

1) Mr. Stephens saw the servant of Costigan at Beirût, and endeavoured to extract from him information as to the voyage; but all that he obtained is confused and of little value. The sketch of the Dead Sea which Mr. S. added from this report, lies before me as I write; it has little resemblance to that sea, except in being longer than it is broad. Incidents of Travel, Vol. II.

itself; but as they wanted a bribe of some fifty dollars in their own pockets, they professed to entertain scruples, whether it was fitting that Christian corpses should be buried so near the sacred tomb of David. The matter had not at that time been brought to a close; and until this was done, the Missionaries did not choose to transfer thither the relics of their friends. I have since learned, that during the last year (1840) the Mission caused a permanent wall to be erected around the plat, with a door under lock and key; and shortly afterwards, on the death of a child of Mr. Nicolayson, the body was interred with all due formalities within the precincts. All this was done without opposition on the part of the authorities; and as such matters are here usually settled by full possession and prescription, no further difficulty is apprehended.

From the cemeteries we proceeded eastward along the southern wall of the city; passing by the Zion gate, and then descending along the slope towards the valley of the Tyropoeon or Cheesemakers. A path soon leaves the wall and leads obliquely down the slope S. E. in the direction of Siloam. In this part it becomes steep; and the Tyropoeon, as it comes down from the wall near the great mosk, is also steep, and forms a deep ravine with banks almost precipitous. At its lower end it turns East and issues into the vale of the Kidron.

Here, still within the Tyropoeon, is the Pool of Siloam, a small deep reservoir in the form of a parallelogram, into which the water flows from under the rocks, out of a smaller basin hewn in the solid rock a few feet further up; to which is a descent by a few steps. This is wholly an artificial work; and the water comes to it through a subterraneous channel from the Fountain of Mary, higher up in the valley of Jehoshaphat. The hill or ridge Ophel lying between

the Tyropoeon and the Valley of Jehoshaphat, ends here, just over the Pool of Siloam, in a steep point of rock forty or fifty feet high. Along the base of this the water is conducted from the pool in a small channel hewn in the rocky bottom; and is then led off to irrigate gardens of fig and other fruit trees and plants, lying in terraces quite down to the bottom of the Valley of Jehoshaphat; a descent still of some forty or fifty feet. The waters of Siloam, as we saw them, were lost in these gardens. On the right, just below the pool, and opposite the point of Ophel, is a large mulberry-tree, with a terrace of stones surrounding its trunk, where they say Isaiah was sawn asunder.

We now passed along up the Valley of Jehoshaphat, which is here narrow and the sides high and steep. On our right, clinging to the rocky side of the Mount of Offence, so called, are the stone hovels of the straggling village of Siloam, Kefr Selwân, many of which are built before caves or rather excavated sepulchres; while in various places the sepulchres themselves, without addition, are used as dwellings. A little further up the valley, under the western hill, is the Fountain of the Virgin,[1] a deep excavation in the solid rock, evidently artificial, into which one descends by two successive flights of steps. The water is apparently brought hither by some unknown and perhaps artificial channel; and flows off through a subterraneous passage under the hill Ophel to the Pool of Siloam. At a later period we crawled through the whole length of this passage. We drank of the water, and remarked a peculiar though not unpleasant taste. We had been told that the people did not use it for drinking; but we found here, as at Siloam, women filling their water-skins, which like Hagar

1) Called by some travellers the *Fountain* of Siloam in distinction from the *Pool* of Siloam below; but without any good reason.

they bore off on their shoulders. They said they used it now for drinking; but when in summer the water becomes lower, it is then not good and has a brackish taste.

Above this fountain the valley becomes very narrow. It is everywhere only a water-course between high hills; and the brook Kidron now never flows, and probably never flowed along its bottom, except in the season of rain.

From the fountain a path ascends obliquely, but steeply, to the S. E. corner of the area of the great mosk. This forms at the same time the extreme S. E. corner of the city-wall, and stands directly on the brow of the almost precipitous side of the valley, here about one hundred and fifty feet deep. Further North the brow juts out a little more, leaving a narrow strip of level ground outside of the wall, which is occupied as a Muhammedan cemetery. The tombs are here thickly crowded together; and frequently, as we passed this way afterwards, there was a stench arising apparently from corpses mouldering in their shallow graves. The Muhammedans prefer this cemetery to all the others, as being very near to the great mosk.[1]

The lower part of this wall in several places is composed of very large hewn stones, which at once strike the eye of the beholder as ancient; as being at least as old as the time of Herod, if not of Solomon. The upper part of the wall is everywhere obviously modern; as is the whole wall in many places. The Golden Gate, which once led out from the area of the mosk upon this side, is now walled up. Near the N. E. corner of this area, towards St. Stephen's Gate, we measured one of the large stones in the wall, and

1) Hist. of Jerus. in Fundgr. des Or. II. p. 134.

found it twenty-four feet long, by six feet broad and three feet high. Just North of the same gate is a small tank or reservoir on the outside; and within the gate, on the left hand, is the very large and deep reservoir, to which the name of Bethesda is commonly given, though probably without good reason. It is entirely dry; and large trees grow at the bottom, the tops of which do not reach the level of the street. North of this, a little to the right of the street, is the dilapidated church of St. Anne, over the grotto which is shown as the birth-place of the Virgin. The church has pointed arches; and was obviously the work of the crusaders.[1]

We now returned home along the *Via dolorosa;* in which monkish tradition has brought together the scenes of all the events, historical or legendary, connected with the crucifixion.[2] Along this way, they say, our Saviour bore his cross. Here one may see, if he pleases, the place where the Saviour, fainting under his burden, leaned against the wall of a house; and the impression of his shoulder remains unto this day. Near by are also pointed out the houses of the Rich Man and Lazarus in the parable. To judge from present appearances, the beggar was quite as well lodged as his opulent neighbour. But enough of these absurdities!

1) William of Tyre mentions on this spot the House of Anna, as a place where three or four poor women had consecrated themselves to a monastic life. About A. D. 1113, King Baldwin I. compelled his Armenian wife to take the veil in this convent; which at the same time he richly endowed. Will. Tyr. XI. 1. Wilken Gesch. der Kreuzz. II. p. 397. According to Jac. de Vitriaco, this was called the Abbey of St. Anne, and was inhabited by an Abbess and Black Nuns, i. e. of the Benedictine order; Hist. Hieros. 58. p. 1078.—Saewulf in 1102–3 already speaks of a church here; p. 264.

2) The earliest allusion I have been able to find to the *Via dolorosa*, is in Marinus Sanutus in the fourteenth century; de Secret. fid. Cruc. III. 14. 10.

GETHSEMANE, THE MOUNT OF OLIVES, ETC.

The forenoon of the next day, Wednesday, April 18th, taking our servant Ibrahim, I went alone with him out of the Yâfa gate, and keeping to the right passed around the N. W. corner of the city wall, where stands a terebinth or Butm-tree of considerable size; and then descended to the Damascus gate. Here I struck out to the left through the open field to the Grotto of Jeremiah, so called by the monks. It lies under a round isolated rocky hill, the S. side of which has apparently been cut away to an irregular face, under which is the entrance to the grotto. In front is a small garden walled in; but the door was closed, so that I could not gain access to the cavern itself; nor were we more successful at a subsequent visit. The top of the hill is occupied as a Muslim cemetery.[1] The southern front of this hill stands overagainst the precipitous northern side of Bezetha, crowned by the city wall; and one might almost imagine that the two hills once formed one ridge, of which the intervening portion had been cut away by art.

Returning to the path, I kept along the city wall towards the East. Before reaching the N. E. corner of the city, there is near the wall, or indeed in the trench, what seems to have been a small reservoir for water, communicating perhaps along the trench with that which we had seen the day before near St. Stephen's gate. Passing down the steep hill from this gate into the valley of the Kidron, and crossing the bridge over the dry water-course, one has on the left

1) Prokesch describes the interior of this grotto as nearly round, some forty paces in diameter, perhaps 30 feet high in the middle, and supported by two massive pillars. It is inhabited by a Muslim saint, who sells places for graves in the grotto and in the garden before it, while above are also graves; Reise ins heil. Land, p. 95. The place was in much the same state early in the sixteenth century; see Hist. of Jerusalem in Fundgr. des Orients, II. p. 133.

the half subterranean church of the Virgin Mary, with an excavated grotto or chapel called her tomb. Before the low building is a small sunken court; from which there is a descent by many steps into the church. The earliest notice of this tomb and church is in the seventh century; and it is also mentioned by the historians of the crusades.[1]

Near the same bridge and church, on the right, is the place fixed on by early tradition as the site of the garden of Gethsemane. It is a plat of ground nearly square, enclosed by an ordinary stone-wall. The N. W. corner is one hundred and forty-five feet distant from the bridge. The W. side measures one hundred and sixty feet in length; and the N. side one hundred and fifty feet. Within this enclosure are eight very old olive-trees, with stones thrown together around their trunks. There is nothing peculiar in this plat to mark it as Gethsemane; for adjacent to it are other similar enclosures, and many olive-trees equally old. The spot was not improbably fixed upon during the visit of Helena to Jerusalem, A. D. 326; when the places of the crucifixion and resurrection were supposed to be identified. Before that time no such tradition is alluded to. Eusebius, writing apparently a few years afterwards, says Gethsemane was *at* the Mount of Olives, and was then a place of prayer for the faithful.[2] Sixty years or more afterwards, Jerome

1) First by Adamnanus ex Arculfo (I. 13) about A. D. 697; then by St. Willibald about A. D. 765. Also by Will. Tyr. VIII. 2. Brocardus. c. 8. Mar. Sanut. III. 14. 9.—Monkish tradition almost as a matter of course now refers the building of this church to Helena; though Marinus Sanutus (and apparently Brocardus) gravely supposes it to have existed before the destruction of the city by Adrian, and to have been thus deeply covered over by the ruins then thrown down into the valley; de Secret. fid. l. c. But Nicephorus Callistus in the same (fourteenth) century, already ascribes it to Helena; lib. VIII. c. 30.—Arabian writers call this church el-Jesmânîyeh, i. e. Gethsemane; and so the natives at the present day. Edrîsi par Jaubert, p. 344. Hist. of Jerus. in Fundgr. des Orient. II. p. 132.

2) The *Itin. Hierosol. seu Burdigal.* A. D. 333, mentions the "rock where Judas betrayed Christ" as being in the valley of Jehoshaphat.

places it at the foot of the mountain, and says a church had been built over it; which is also mentioned by Theophanes as existing near the end of the seventh century.[1] The garden is likewise spoken of by Antoninus Martyr at the end of the sixth century, by Adamnanus, and by writers of the times of the crusades.[2] There would seem therefore little reason to doubt, that the present site is the same to which Eusebius alludes. Whether it is the true site, is perhaps a matter of more question.[3]

Giving myself up to the impressions of the moment, I sat down here for a time alone beneath one of the aged trees. All was silent and solitary around; only a herd of goats were feeding not far off, and a few flocks of sheep grazing on the side of the mountain. High above towered the dead walls of the city; through which there penetrated no sound of human life. It was almost like the stillness and loneliness of the desert. Here, or at least not far off, the Saviour endured that "agony and bloody sweat," which was connected with the redemption of the world; and here in deep submission he prayed: "O my father, if this cup may not pass away from me except I drink it, thy will be done!"[4]

From the bridge three paths lead up to the summit of the Mount of Olives. One, a mere foot-path, strikes up in a direct course along a steep projecting

1) Eusebius et Hieron. Onomast. art. *Gethsemani*. Theophan. Chron. A. D. 683. Comp. Reland Pal. p. 857.—Cyrill of Jerus. also speaks of Gethsemane; Catach. XIII. p. 140. ed. Oxon.

2) Antonin. Mart. 17. Adamnanus ex Arculf. I. 13. Jac. de Vitr. Hist. Hierosol. 63. Brocardus, c. 8.

3) According to the Evangelist John, Jesus "went forth over the brook Cedron, where was a garden," xviii. 1, 2. But Luke says he "went out *as he was wont* to the Mount of Olives," xxii. 39. This last passage, taken in connection with Luke xxi. 37, where it is said that he taught in the day-time in the temple, and at night went out and abode in the Mount of Olives, may suggest a doubt, whether Gethsemane was not perhaps situated higher up on the Mount of Olives.

4) Matt. xxvi. 42.

part of the hill; a second passes up more circuitously to the left, where the hill retires a little and has a more gradual slope; and the third winds up along the face further South. The sides of the mountain are still sprinkled with olive-trees, though not thickly, as was probably the case of old; and a few other trees are occasionally seen. I took the middle path, which brought me out at the church of the Ascension and the mosk, situated on the summit.[1] Around them are a few huts, forming a miserable village. Here one is able to look down upon the city and survey at least the roofs of the houses. The view may be said indeed to be a very full one; but it is not particularly interesting. It presents a dull mixed mass of roofs and domes; but the distance is too great to be able to distinguish the buildings or the topography of the city in any good degree. A more pleasing view is obtained from various points lower down the side of the mountain.

From the church on the summit, only the city and the western prospect are visible; the eastern view being cut off by a higher part or ridge of the hill some twenty or thirty rods further East, with a Wely or tomb of a Muslim saint upon it. From this Wely one obtains a commanding view of the northern end and portion of the Dead Sea, and also of the adjacent country, including a large part of the valley of the Jordan, as well as the naked dreary region lying between Jerusalem and Jericho, and between Bethlehem and the Dead Sea. The course of the river Jordan could be traced by the narrow strip of verdure which clothes

1) The various supposed sites of scriptural events, which the monks have fixed upon the side of the Mount of Olives, may be seen in Maundrell, Prokesch (p. 80), and other travellers.—Edrîsi speaks of a large church on the acclivity, called Pater Noster; p. 344, ed. Jaubert. This is probably the same mentioned by Sir J. Maundeville, as on or near the spot where Jesus taught his disciples the Lord's prayer; p. 96. Lond. 1839.

its banks. Beyond its valley, the eastern mountains stretch off northward and southward in a long even ridge, apparently unbroken. They present to the view, as here seen, no single peak or separate summit, which could be taken for the Nebo of the Scriptures. At a considerable distance N. of Jericho, indeed, a loftier summit is seen, forming the highest point of the mountains of Gilead, just North of es-Salt; but this could not have been Nebo.

The atmosphere was at the time perfectly clear, and the waters of the Dead Sea lay bright and sparkling in the sunbeams, seemingly not more than eight or ten miles distant, though actually much further off. I unfortunately neglected to look for Kerak, which would doubtless have been visible in so clear a day. When we sought for it in a later visit, the haziness of the atmosphere prevented us from distinguishing it.— Towards the W. and N. W. the view extends to the Terebinth Valley so called, and the high point and mosk of Neby Samwîl.

I returned down the mount by the more southern path; from which a branch led me across the Jewish cemetery to the Tombs of Absalom and Zechariah so called, at the bottom of the valley, just under the S. E. corner of the wall of the mosk and city. Here is the narrowest part of the valley. Close by the tombs is a well, which then had water, though it seemed not to be used; and here is also another bridge of stone over the torrent-bed with a fine arch. From this point a rugged foot-path ascends towards St. Stephen's Gate; entering which, I returned home by the *Via dolorosa*.

JEWS' PLACE OF WAILING, ETC.

In the afternoon of the same day, I went with Mr. Lanneau to the place where the Jews are permitted

to purchase the right of approaching the site of their temple, and of praying and wailing over its ruins and the downfall of their nation. The spot is on the western exterior of the area of the great mosk, considerably South of the middle; and is approached only by a narrow crooked lane, which there terminates at the wall in a very small open place. The lower part of the wall is here composed of the same kind of ancient stones, which we had before seen on the eastern side. Two old men, Jews, sat there upon the ground, reading together in a book of Hebrew prayers. On Fridays they assemble here in greater numbers. It is the nearest point in which they can venture to approach their ancient temple; and fortunately for them, it is sheltered from observation by the narrowness of the lane and the dead walls around. Here, bowed in the dust, they may at least weep undisturbed over the fallen glory of their race; and bedew with their tears the soil, which so many thousands of their forefathers once moistened with their blood.

This touching custom of the Jews is not of modern origin. Benjamin of Tudela mentions it, as connected apparently with the same spot, in the twelfth century; and very probably the custom has come down from still earlier ages.[1] After the capture of Jerusalem under Adrian, the Jews were excluded from the city; and it was not till the age of Constantine that they were permitted to approach, so as to behold Jerusalem from the neighbouring hills.[2] At length they were allowed to enter the city once a year, on the day on which it was taken by Titus, in order to wail over the ruins of the temple. But this privilege they were

1) Benj. de Tud. par Baratier I. p. 90.

2) Sulpic. Sev. Hist. Sacr. II. 45. Euseb. Chron.—Also Euseb. in Psalm. ed. Montfauc. p. 267, 382. Hilar. in Psalm. 58. No. 12. See Münter, der Jüdische Krieg unter Trajan and Hadrian, p. 97.

obliged to purchase of the Roman soldiers.[1]—According to Benjamin, as above cited, the Jews in his day regarded this portion of the wall as having belonged to the court of the ancient temple.

Turning back somewhat from this spot, and threading our way through other narrow lanes with sharp corners, and then through a tract planted with the prickly-pear, we came to the S. W. corner of the area of the great mosk, where the wall is quite high. Around this corner is an open level plat of ground, which was now ploughed, extending to the city-wall on the South. This latter, which here runs from W. to E. is low on the inside, but high on the outside; forming a high offset between the level plat above and the open fields further South. Further East this wall turns North at a right angle and unites with the southern wall of the area of the mosk, about one third of the way from its S. W. to the S. E. corner. The stones in the lower part of the wall of the area at the S. W. corner, are of immense size; and on the western side, at first view, some of them seem to have been started from their places, as if the wall had burst and was about to fall down. We paid little attention to this appearance at the time; but subsequent examination led here to one of our most interesting discoveries. South of this corner, in the city-wall, and near the bed or channel of the Tyropoeon, is a small gate now closed up. This the monks in their zeal to find an application for all scriptural names, have honoured (or dishonoured) with the name of the Dung Gate; al-

1) Münter l. c. Hieron. in Zephan. c. i. 15, "Et, ut ruinam suae eis flere liceat civitatis, pretio redimunt; ut qui quondam emerant sanguinem Christi, emant lacrymas suas. Et ne fletus quidem eis gratuitus sit; videas in die quo capta est a Romanis et diruta Jerusalem, venire populum lugubrem .... plangere ruinas templi sui; et miles mercedem postulat, ut illis flere plus liceat."—See also Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. XII. Valesii Annot. in Euseb. Hist. Ecc. IV. 6.

though neither the ancient gate of that name, nor the ancient wall, could have been anywhere in this vicinity.

The present city-wall is built for the most part with a breastwork; that is, the exterior face is carried up several feet higher than the interior part of the wall, leaving a broad and convenient walk along the top of the latter for the accommodation of the defenders. This is protected by the parapet or breastwork, which has battlements and loopholes. There are also flights of steps to ascend or descend at convenient distances on the inside. Mounting upon the city-wall in this manner near the area of the mosk, we kept along over the Dung Gate so called, and up Mount Zion, passing a well with water on the way; and then descending from the wall near the Gate of Zion, we returned home through the Jews' quarter on the N. E. slope of the same hill.

UPPER POOL, GIHON, ETC.

In the afternoon of the following day, (Thursday, April 19th,) Messrs. Smith and Nicolayson and myself took a short walk to look at the ground and objects West and Northwest of the Yâfa Gate, and along the road to Yâfa. We went first to the large tank lying in the basin which forms the head of the Valley of Hinnom, or more properly perhaps of the Valley of Gihon; since this would seem to be the quarter to which that name of old belonged. The tank was now dry; but in the rainy season it becomes full; and its waters are then conducted by a small rude aqueduct or channel to the vicinity of the Yâfa Gate, and so to the Pool of Hezekiah within the city. The tract around this tank, especially towards the N. E. is occupied as a Muslim cemetery, the largest around the

city. The tombs are scattered and old; some of the larger ones indeed have the appearance of great antiquity.

We returned across the higher ground on the North of this basin, towards the Damascus Gate, in order to examine whether perhaps the valley of the Tyropoeon extended up at all beyond the city in that direction. There is however no trace of any valley or of any depression in this quarter, before reaching the declivity stretching down to the Damascus Gate. The whole interval between this gate and Gihon is occupied by a broad hill or swell of land, rising somewhat higher than the N. W. part of the city itself. The ground on the West, as well as on the North of the present city, would seem to have once been built over; or at least occasional buildings once stood upon it. Fragments of polished marble are often picked up here; and especially the small cubes of marble of different colours, not much larger than dice, which were employed in the construction of the ancient tesselated pavements.

We entered the city again by the gate of Yâfa or Hebron; and threading our way towards the left through several lanes, passed the Coptic convent, then rebuilding, at the northern end of the Pool of Hezekiah. This latter still had water covering its bottom; though apparently not deep.

VALLEY OF HINNOM, WELL OF JOB, ETC.

Walking out alone one day, I passed over Mount Zion to its southern brow, and then descended its steep side without a path and with some difficulty, to the Valley of Hinnom. The bottom of the valley has here more width and descends rapidly towards the East; further down it is narrower and has a still steeper descent. On the S. the hill in many parts rises at first in rocky

precipices, with other ledges of rocks higher up on the steep side; and these rocks and the whole face of the hill are full of excavated tombs. On the same hill-side, further East along the valley, is the Aceldama or Potter's Field, so called. The tombs continue quite down to the corner of the mountain, where it bends off southwards along the Valley of Jehoshaphat.

My course was along the side of the hill among the tombs; and then descending near the junction of the two vallies, I came to the Well of Nehemiah as the Franks call it, or the Well of Job according to the natives. Neither name has apparently any good foundation. We shall afterwards see that this is without much doubt the En-Rogel of Scripture. It is a deep well of living water; but in the rainy season overflows.

Passing from hence up the Valley of Jehoshaphat and visiting again Siloam and the Tomb of Absalom, I returned home by St. Stephen's Gate. This walk gave me a stronger impression of the height and steepness of Zion, than I had before received.

TOMBS OF THE KINGS AND JUDGES, MOUNT ZION, ETC.

We visited several times the Tombs of the Kings, so called, (probably the tomb of Helena,) and took the measurement of them, as will be described in the proper place. They lie directly North of the Damascus Gate, just on the eastern side of the great road to Nâbulus. The way leads to them through the olive-grove which now covers the level tract on this side of the city. A considerable portion of this plain was once apparently occupied by buildings. Fragments of marble and mosaic tesserae are often found here; and several ancient cisterns, now partly fallen in, furnish unequivocal evidence of former habitations. The stones with which the soil was thickly strewed, have

been gathered into heaps or laid up in terraces; and the fields thus cleared have now been tilled for centuries.

One forenoon, (Friday, April 27th,) Messrs. Smith and Lanneau and myself went out to the Tombs of the Kings, to look at them again, and to inspect the progress of some excavations which we had set on foot. We remained here but a short time; and then proceeded further. Just beyond these tombs the valley of the Kidron, which thus far extends up North from the city, turns to the West at a right angle, and then shortly again resumes its former direction, running up North nearly to the Tombs of the Judges. The great Nâbulus road crosses the valley here, where it runs from W. to E. On the right of this road, five minutes from the Tombs of the Kings, and just as it descends into the valley, is a Wely, or tomb of a Muslim Saint, with which is connected a small Khân now half in ruins. Here a deformed Sheikh resides as keeper, with a jug of water and a coffee-pot for the refreshment of travellers; expecting from them presents in return, by which to live. As Mr. L. was acquainted with the Sheikh, we stopped for a few moments, took coffee, and looked in upon his Khân. The arched stalls for the animals around the small court remain; but the chambers above for the guests are gone. The name of the Saint was Husein Ibn 'Îsa el-Jerrâhy. According to the tradition of the Sheikh, he was one of the companions of the Khalîf Omar when he took Jerusalem.

Passing along up the Valley of Jehoshaphat, the sides of which are everywhere studded with tombs excavated in the rocks, we came to the sepulchres of the Judges, so called. These lie near the head of the valley, on the right hand of the path, just beyond the water-summit between the waters of the Dead Sea

and Mediterranean. Here the ground begins to descend N. W. towards the great valley usually (though falsely) called by Franks the Valley of Turpentine or of the Terebinth; but for which the natives have here no other name than Wady Beit Hanîna. At this point we were in full view of Neby Samwîl, bearing N. 40° W. on the high hill beyond that valley; and could also see Kŭstŭl bearing W.

After examining the sepulchres, we returned over the eastern hill, striking the great northern road near the brow of the ascent by which it rises after crossing the valley. This is doubtless the Scopus of the ancients; it affords one of the most pleasing views of the city; though less distinct than one from a point further S. E. Passing again the Tombs of the Kings, we directed our course towards the N. W. corner of Jerusalem, in order to trace out, if possible, some foundations we had before seen, apparently belonging to the third wall of the ancient city, as described by Josephus. In this we were partially successful.

We came at length to the Yâfa Gate, shortly after 12 o'clock, and found it shut. It was Friday, the Muhammedan Sabbath; on which day the gates of Jerusalem are closed for an hour at noon, as the principal season of Muhammedan prayer. Passing around the city on the West, we spent the hour in wandering over Mount Zion. We looked here also for traces of the ancient wall along the western and southern brow; followed out the aqueduct from Solomon's Pools, which winds around the S. E. slope; and then returned up towards the Zion Gate. It was not yet opened, and we went to call on the Sheikh of the Muslim Tomb of David, with whom Mr. Lanneau was acquainted. He was out; but we visited the room over the tomb, where legendary tradition relates that the Lord's Supper was instituted. It is a large dreary

"upper room" of stone, fifty or sixty feet long by some thirty feet in width. At the East end is a small niche in the wall, which the Christians use at certain seasons as an altar to celebrate mass. On the South side is a similar but larger recess, which serves the Muhammedans as a Mihrâb towards which to direct their prayers.[1] Thus the two superstitions stand here side by side in singular juxtaposition! The pretended tomb itself no one is permitted to enter.

This building was formerly a Christian church; and as such the site at least is of high antiquity. It is apparently the same spot, and perhaps the same building, referred to by Cyrill in the fourth century, as the church of the Apostles, where they were said to be assembled on the day of Pentecost. This implies that it was then regarded as at least older than the age of Constantine. About the same time Epiphanius speaks of it distinctly under the same name; and about A. D. 697, Adamnanus mentions it in like manner. It was then held to be the Coenaculum, and to contain also the column to which Christ was bound in order to be scourged.[2] The same column is mentioned in the Jerusalem Itinerary (A. D. 333), and by Jerome near the close of the same century. The latter writer describes this column in his day as sustaining the portico of a church on Mount Zion, and as still stained with the Saviour's blood; but neither he nor any of the earlier writers speak of any tradition relating to the Lord's Supper.[3] Writers of the times of the cru-

1) As the Muhammedans always turn their faces towards Mecca during their prayers and prostrations, every mosk has a niche in the wall to show the proper direction. This niche is the *Mihrâb;* and the place or direction towards which the face is turned, is the *Kibleh.* Mecca lies nearly south of Syria; and hence the word *Kibleh* is also in common use among the Syrian Arabs to denote the South.

2) Cyrill. Cat. XVI. 2, p. 225. Oxon. 1703. Epiphan. de Mensur. et Pond. no. 14. Comp. le Quien Oriens Christ. III. p. 105.—Adamnan. ex Arculfo, I. 13. St. Willibald, A. D. 765, calls it the Church of Zion; Hodoepor. 18.

3) Epitaph. Paulae, ad Eustoch.

sades often allude to this church as the Church of Zion; and regard it as the place where the protomartyr Stephen was buried.[1] According to Sir J. Maundeville and also R. de Suchem, it would seem to have been still in the hands of the Latins so late as about A. D. 1350; and at that time it was one of the many churches which tradition began to ascribe to the empress Helena.[2] More than a century later, A. D. 1479, Tucher of Nürnberg found the building converted into a mosk, or at least the lower part of it, and already containing the tombs of David, Solomon, and other kings.—The adjacent buildings were formerly a convent of the Minorites or Franciscans, who retained possession of them for a century or more after the church had been partially at least wrested from their hands.[3] In these buildings Ibrahim Pasha resides when he visits Jerusalem.

Further North, nearer to the gate, stands an Armenian convent, enclosing a small church, which according to a similar tradition marks the spot where once stood the house of Caiphas. We entered and were conducted through it. Here the Armenian Patriarchs of Jerusalem lie buried; their monuments are

1) Will. Tyr. VIII. 5. Jac. de Vitr. Hist. Hieros. 61. Phocas de Locis Sanct. 14.

2) First mentioned as one of Helena's churches by Nicephorus Callistus, VIII. 30; a writer of the fourteenth century.

3) Adrichomius Theatr. Terrae Sanct. p. 150. Quaresmius Terrae Sanct. Elucid. II. pp. 51, 122. It appears that the Franciscans or Minorites had their chief seat here from A. D. 1313 to A. D. 1561. They were then driven out by the Muhammedans; and having purchased the present Latin convent of St. Salvator in the city, which had formerly belonged to the Georgian Greeks, they removed to it. Quaresmius, l. c. Comp. Wadding. Annal. Minor. Ed. 2. III. p. 485, seq. Belon about 1547 lodged in their convent on Zion, and speaks of it as the only Latin convent; Observations, etc. Paris 1588. p. 313; also in Paulus' Sammlung, Th. I. p. 259. So Baumgarten in 1512, lib. II. 5; and other travellers. Belon likewise remarks, that the monks had in his day regained possession of the Coenaculum; l. c. p. 315.—This convent was erected for the Franciscans by Sancia, queen of Robert of Sicily; who also repaired or rebuilt the Coenaculum; see Quaresmius, l. c. p. 122, and Tom. I. p. 176. Wadding, l. c.

in the small court. Under the altar of the church they still profess to show the stone which closed the Holy Sepulchre. They point out also what they call the prison of our Lord; as well as the spot where Peter denied his Master, and the court where the cock crew. This church cannot well be very ancient;[1] nor have I been able to find any mention of it before the fourteenth century. It was then called, as now, the Church of St. Salvator, and was already ascribed to Helena.[2] The Armenians appear to have had it in possession very early after the crusades.[3]

We reached the Zion Gate just as it was opened at one o'clock. Within the gate, a little towards the right, are some miserable hovels, inhabited by persons called leprous. Whether their disease is or is not the leprosy of Scripture, I am unable to affirm; the symptoms described to us were similar to those of elephantiasis. At any rate they are pitiable objects, and miserable outcasts from society. They all live here together, and intermarry only with each other. The children are said to be healthy until the age of puberty or later; when the disease makes its appearance in a finger, on the nose, or in some like part of the body, and gradually increases so long as the victim survives. They were said often to live to the age of forty or fifty years.

Our way home led us through the Jews' quarter; and we looked in for a moment upon their prepara-

1) Benjamin of Tudela says, that in his day, soon after A. D. 1160, there was no building on Zion save one Christian church, doubtless the Coenaculum; I. p. 93. ed. Baratier.

2) Marin. Sanut. Secr. fidel. Crucis, III. 14. 8. Rudolph de Suchem in Reissb. p. 844. Niceph. Call. VIII. 30.—The Jerusalem Itinerary, (A. D. 333,) speaks of the house of Caiphas as having stood on Mount Zion, "ubi *fuit* domus Caiphae;" but says nothing of any building then existing. Comp. Cyrill. Cat. XIII. 19.

3) Tucher of Nürnberg found it in their hands in A. D. 1479. See Reissb. des heil. Landes, p. 659.

tions for building a new synagogue. In digging for its foundations they had uncovered several small houses and rooms, which had before been completely buried beneath the accumulated rubbish. These presented nothing of interest. It was also reported, that they had found pieces of marble, and even columns; but we were able to learn nothing definite on the subject.

EL-HARAM. TOWER OF DAVID.

We made no attempt to obtain admission to the Haram esh-Sherîf, or great mosk. This has been visited and described by others, and did not form in itself any part of the object of our journey. Could there have been a hope of penetrating into the vaults and subterranean passages which are known to exist beneath its area, so as to explore them, we would have spared no effort to have obtained the requisite permission. But as it was, we thought it more prudent to pursue our researches in silence, rather than by ill-timed or ill-advised application to the authorities, to run the risk of exciting on their part suspicion or jealousy. We found no difficulty at any time in approaching the entrances, and looking in upon the area, as long as we pleased.

Wishing however to obtain a better view of the Haram, and also to visit the citadel near the Yâfa Gate, Mr. Smith with our friends waited on the Kâim Makâm, the military commander of the city, to obtain an order for this purpose. This officer received them with great courtesy; immediately granted their request; and even sent his secretary to accompany them and introduce them at each place. They now came back for me; and we went first to the building on the N. W. corner of the area of the Haram. This

was formerly the residence of the Governor; and stands near the site of the ancient fortress Antonia. It is now used as barracks. From the flat roof there is a full view of the mosk and its court, a large and beautiful area, with trees scattered over it, and several fountains; the whole forming a fine promenade. We saw there quite a number of females, and many children playing.

The great mosk itself, *Kubbet es-Sŭkhrah*, "Dome of the Rock," is an octagonal building with a noble dome, standing upon a platform near the middle of the court, elevated by several steps above the general level. Quite on the southern side of the area, stands another large mosk, *el-Jâmi'a el-Aksa;* and there are other smaller mosks and buildings adjacent to the walls in other parts. The whole enclosure, with all its sacred buildings and appurtenances, is called *el-Haram*, "the Holy," and also *el-Haram esh-Sherîf*, "the noble Sanctuary." In the northern part of the area, the rocky surface is visible, which has evidently been levelled off by art. The height of the wall around the court on the inside we judged to be from twelve to sixteen feet.—Towards the West the houses of the city rise steeply one above another, and the two hills of Zion and Akra are distinctly marked.[1]

We now repaired to the castle or citadel, and were taken through its various parts; but our attention was confined chiefly to the one old tower, apparently ancient, which is usually called by the Franks the Tower of David. This we measured; and it will be described in another place. From its top there is an extensive view, especially towards the S. E. where a small portion of the Dead Sea is visible, and beyond it the mountains of Arabia. As we looked down

1) The spot where we stood is the same from which the drawings for the noble Panorama of Jerusalem by Catherwood were taken.

upon and over the city itself, it seemed almost like a plain; the appearance of descent being in a great measure lost.[1]

Both here and at the barracks, the deportment of the officers and soldiers we encountered, was extremely civil. The secretary who attended us was an intelligent man; and when we parted, he politely declined the *bakhshîsh* we proffered him. This was, I think, the only instance of the kind in all our journey.

In our walks through the city and its environs, we were struck with the comparatively few people we met, and the indifference with which they seemed to regard us and our movements. In the city itself, the bazars were usually thronged; so that it was sometimes difficult to make one's way through them. In the larger streets also, such as that leading down from the Yâfa Gate to the great mosk, and those between the bazars and the Damascus Gate, there were commonly many persons passing to and fro; but all the other streets were comparatively solitary. Outside of the city, a few peasants with their asses wending their way to or from the gates; a few shepherds watching their flocks on the side of Mount Olivet; a few women with their water-skins around the fountains in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and occasionally Muslim females veiled in white sitting or strolling among the tombs of their people;—these were ordinarily the only signs of life and activity which the stranger could perceive, as he wandered around this former "city of the great King." Yet sometimes we lighted upon more stirring scenes. One day as we

1) We were not so fortunate as Stephan Schulz; who professes to have seen from this tower Mount Horeb in the South, and Mount Tabor in the North! Leitungen des Höchsten, etc. Th. V. p. 161.

were standing near the large terebinth at the N. W. corner of the city-wall, the Mutesellim or governor with a party of ten or twelve horsemen passed by, on their return from a ride and from practising the *Jerîd*. They were all gaily caparisoned, and rode in fine style; their horses prancing and now and then darting off at full speed along the rocky road. At another time the dead monotony was broken in upon, by the departure of a large body of troops for Ramleh.

We took measurements within and without the city in all directions, without interruption, and without being subjected to the slightest inquiry or token of suspicion. Indeed, the indifference with which these operations were apparently regarded, was rather a matter of surprise. A few persons only occasionally stopped to look at us, and then passed on; and I am persuaded that neither in London nor New-York could any thing similar be undertaken, without exciting far more attention, and probably drawing together a crowd of idlers. We just pursued our own course; went where we would, and undertook what we pleased; asked no leave of the government or others, whenever it could be avoided; and thus encountered no opposition. In the one instance where we had occasion to ask a favour of the Kâim Makâm or military commander, it was courteously granted; in another instance, the Mufti declined to concede what he previously had expressed a willingness to have take place.

With the native population of the city, we had, through our friends, the opportunity of frequent intercourse, to any extent we might desire. The house of Mr. Lanneau, in which we resided, was situated in the Muhammedan quarter, next door to that of the Mufti of Jerusalem; and the circumstance of his having taken a house in their quarter and among

them, was looked upon with favour by the Muslims. His neighbours, some of the chief men of the city, were in the habit of making frequent calls; and an interchange of friendly courtesies was sedulously maintained. A native Greek merchant, Abu Selâmeh, who was seeking the appointment of agent from the American consul at Beirût, was very attentive; and through him and the chief physician or apothecary of the garrison, we received all the intelligence and current reports of the day.

The Mutesellim or governor of the city at this time, was Sheikh Mustafa, a young man of a fine figure and prepossessing countenance, the son of Sheikh Sa'îd, governor of Gaza. He was said however to be prejudiced against the Franks; and to be in the habit of turning an ungracious ear to all their applications. We had no occasion to apply to him while in Jerusalem; except once, as a matter of policy, to send our Firmân for his inspection before setting off for the Dead Sea; but we afterwards met him in Hebron and were struck with his graceful deportment. The Kâim Makâm, or military governor, was regarded as more frank and courteous; and our friends were in the habit of applying to him, when necessary, rather than to Sheikh Mustafa.

Our neighbour the Mufti called one morning soon after breakfast, and sat with us for an hour. This dignitary is in high repute among the Mussulmans; being subordinate in rank only to the Muftis of Mecca and Constantinople. He was a fine looking man between sixty and seventy years of age, with a long white beard neatly trimmed, intelligent eyes, and great vivacity for a Muhammedan. He declined the proffered pipe, assuring us that he never smoked. He was near-sighted, and had an ordinary eye-glass; but my spectacles, and especially those of Mr. Homes, de-

lighted him greatly. He was prompt in offering us all the facilities we might need in prosecuting our researches; and so far as his own personal feelings were concerned, this offer was perhaps sincere. The flat roof of Mr. Lanneau's house was separated from his premises only by a low parapet; and some of our friends having casually looked over it into his court, he had sent a civil message to request that this might not be done any more. One object of his present visit, was to apologize, or rather to explain the reason, for sending such a message.

Another day we had a similar call from Abu Ghûsh, the former governor of Jerusalem, noted as one of the Sheikhs of the village Kuryet el-'Enab on the way to Yâfa, where some years ago travellers were often robbed. He is now old, with a keen robber's eye, and an intelligent face. This is a family-name; and there are several brothers Abu Ghûsh. An older one, Ibrahîm, was the most notorious as a robber; but he was said not now to be acknowledged as the head of the family.

Before we left Cairo, intelligence had been received there of the insurrection of the Druzes in Haurân; and as they were known to be a brave and injured people, fears were entertained (and not unjustly) that a protracted war might follow, the end of which no one could foresee. The occasion of the insurrection was understood to be, the attempts of the Egyptian government to seize upon their young men by force, as recruits for the army. This kind of oppression had been already introduced into other parts of Syria, although not with the same success as in Egypt; but the comparatively free and high-spirited Druzes could not brook it. War ensued. The Druzes fought with desperation; and were killed outright whenever taken. Their country was overrun and

wasted; their villages burned with fire; their wives and children sold as slaves in the markets of Damascus. The survivors withdrew to the rocks and fastnesses of el-Lejah; for a time there would be a calm, and then the war burst forth again with redoubled fury. After continuing for more than a year, the war appears to have been finally terminated by the concession, on the part of the government, of all that for which the Druzes had at first taken up arms; a concession extorted perhaps by the indications of an approaching war with Turkey.

During our journey through the deserts South of Palestine, we of course heard little of this war. The Bedawîn knew that it had broken out; but they had no definite information respecting it; and the scene of conflict was too remote to affect them directly, or awaken an interest in their bosoms. When we arrived at Jerusalem, the first throes of the struggle were not yet over; and the minds of men were in uncertainty. For some time no definite intelligence had been received from the seat of war; and the city was full of rumours. No one knew where Ibrahîm Pasha was; and it was even said that a large body of his troops had been defeated, and another party of several hundreds wholly cut off. In this state of things, the unquiet spirits of the land, who under the strong arm of Egyptian rule had become quiet and peaceable citizens, began to rouse themselves, and desired again to taste the sweets of anarchy and lawless depredation. Several robberies and murders were committed in the vicinity of Jerusalem; one of which has been already alluded to.[1] In another instance a pilgrim was shot, robbed, and left wounded on the road to Yâfa. He was brought to the city, and some of our friends saw him lying helpless and

1) See above, p. 323.

apparently dying, in the open court of the Greek convent, waiting until the authorities of the city or the convent should make some provision for his need. Reports of other robberies were very frequent; but were evidently much exaggerated, if not wholly groundless.

Under these circumstances, the prospect before us was dreary; and it was for a time doubtful, whether we should be able to travel at all in the country, without (or even with) an armed guard. Were the Druzes able to maintain themselves and make head against the Pasha's troops, then all the roads in Palestine would become unsafe; for however well affected the better portion of the people might be, still this would not keep in check the bands of lawless adventurers, who were only waiting for an opportunity to prowl over the country. Many days however had not elapsed, before the certain news arrived that Ibrahîm was at Damascus, where he had concentrated his troops; and that he had totally defeated the Druzes. After this all was again quiet; the reports of robbery and murder were no longer heard; and we subsequently travelled through the length and breadth of the land without fear or interruption; indeed, with the same feeling of security as in England or our native country. It was not until two months later, that a fresh outbreak of the insurrection in the region of Jebel esh-Sheikh, hindered us from approaching Damascus.

As if we were to have a specimen of all the evils to which the oriental world is exposed, a few days after our arrival in the Holy City, rumours of the plague began to be circulated. It had broken out with violence in Alexandria; and in consequence a strict quarantine had been established at Yâfa. Yet on Sunday, April 22d, the report came that the plague had made its appearance in Yâfa also; supposed to have been introduced by pilgrims from the southern

coast of Asia Minor. Some of these pilgrims were known to have come up to Jerusalem; and now the inhabitants were tormented day by day, with various rumours of its existence both at Yâfa and among themselves. At first many doubted; but several fearful cases at Yâfa, in the families of some of the Frank consuls, speedily put the question beyond doubt in respect to that place. In Jerusalem there were for some days no very decided cases. Deaths indeed occurred, which were ascribed to the plague; but no one pronounced authoritatively upon them. Yet all were in fear and upon their guard; several houses were barricadoed by the police; many families and some of the convents put themselves in quarantine; and all took care, in passing to and fro along the streets, not to come in contact with any other person. At length, after a few days, the plague developed itself decidedly; all doubt was at an end; and the disease continued to extend its ravages on every side continually, though mildly.

This was a state of things such as I had never anticipated, and which I shall never forget. Men's lives seemed to hang in doubt before them. No one knew what to do or whither to turn himself. All who could, hurried away from the city; for they feared that according to despotic custom Jerusalem would be shut up and a cordon of troops drawn around it, in order to prevent the plague from spreading among the villages of the country. Nor was this fear groundless. All business was at a stand. The merchants from Damascus and other places left the city. The Missionaries broke off their sittings, and those from abroad hastened to depart with their families. They left on the 30th of April. Several Frank travellers also hurried away; and some who were upon the road from Beirût to Jerusalem, turned back at Nâbulus.

Meanwhile we continued our investigations without interruption, taking care to come in contact with no one as we passed along the streets; and a kind Providence preserved us from the dangers by which we were surrounded. On the 18th of May the city was actually shut up, and no one permitted to go out. We had left it the day before on a long excursion to Gaza, Hebron and Wady Mûsa; and although we afterwards returned to its gates, yet we did not enter them again. The city remained shut up until the beginning of July.

Indeed, during our whole journey in the East, although surrounded by war, pestilence, and quarantines, we were enabled to pass through them all without harm or hindrance; without being detained from these causes even for an hour.

Not all travellers, however, were thus favoured. On the 2d of May I met at the house of Mr. Nicolayson an English gentleman, the chaplain of a ship of war, who left Cairo just one week after ourselves, and had come by the most direct route to Jerusalem. He had descended the Nile to Damietta, where he was detained seventeen days waiting for a vessel for Yâfa. In this latter place he had performed a quarantine of fifteen days; and then five more on his arrival in Jerusalem. These last had ended only on the preceding day. Thus of the forty-three days which had elapsed since his departure from Cairo, six had been spent in travelling, and thirty-seven in quarantines and delay! Yet he was not disheartened; and actually left Jerusalem the very next day for Beirût. It may also be mentioned, as showing the security of the roads at the time, that without knowing a word of Arabic, he set off alone with a single muleteer on this long journey; and reached Beirût without any other difficulties, than those which are of course incident to such a mode of travel.

Not long afterwards, Duke Maximilian of Bavaria arrived at Jerusalem with a somewhat numerous suite; and left it again, as we understood, about the same time we did, just before the city was shut up. He was less fortunate or less cautious than we were, in respect to the plague; for after he had left the city this terrible scourge broke out among his attendants. His physician died of it at Nazareth; and another attendant, a mulatto, was left ill in the Lazaretto at Sidon, where he lingered for several weeks and died.

Among other travellers who left the Holy City, was M. de Bertou, a Frenchman, who had just returned from an excursion to Wady Mûsa and 'Akabah by way of the Dead Sea and Wady el-'Arabah. We had hoped to have been the first to explore the northern part of this great Wady; but were not the less gratified to learn from him the results of his journey. He spent the evening of April 30th with us; and thought he had found the name of *Kadesh*, at a place not far from the junction of the roads from Hebron and Gaza to Wady Mûsa; and also that of *Zoar* on the western side of the Dead Sea. Both of these suppositions we afterwards found, by inquiry on the spot, to be erroneous.

SECTION VII.

JERUSALEM.

TOPOGRAPHY AND ANTIQUITIES.

We enter here upon a more detailed description of the Holy City, and its remains of antiquity. In doing this, I must request the reader to bear in mind, that for the lapse of more than fifteen centuries, Jerusalem has been the abode not only of mistaken piety, but also of credulous superstition, not unmingled with pious fraud. During the second and third centuries after the Christian era, the city remained under heathen sway; and the Christian church existed there, if at all, only by sufferance. But when, in the beginning of the fourth century, Christianity became triumphant in the person of Constantine; and at his instigation, aided by the presence and zeal of his mother Helena, the first great attempt was made in A. D. 326, to fix and beautify the places connected with the crucifixion and resurrection of the Saviour; it then, almost as a matter of course, became a passion among the multitudes of priests and monks, who afterwards resorted to the Holy City, to trace out and assign the site of every event, however trivial or legendary, which could be brought into connection with the Scriptures or with pious tradition. The fourth century appears to have been particularly fruitful in the fixing of these localities, and in the dressing out of the traditions or rather

legends, which were attached to them.[1] But the invention of succeeding ages continued to build upon these foundations;[2] until, in the seventh century, the Muhammedan conquest and subsequent oppressions confined the attention of the Church more exclusively to the circumstances of her present distress; and drew off in part the minds of the clergy and monks from the contemplation and embellishment of Scriptural history. Thus the fabric of tradition was left to become fixed and stationary as to its main points; in much the same condition, indeed, in which it has come down to our day. The more fervid zeal of the ages of the crusades, only filled out and completed the fabric in minor particulars.[3]

It must be further borne in mind, that as these localities were assigned, and the traditions respecting them for the most part brought forward, by a credulous and unenlightened zeal, well meant, indeed, but not uninterested; so all the reports and accounts we have of the Holy City and its sacred places, have come to us from the same impure source. The fathers of the Church

1) The *Itinerarium Hierosol.* A. D. 333, mentions the palm-tree as still standing on the side of Mount Olivet, from which the people broke off branches to strew before Jesus. Cyrill also speaks of it in the same century; Cat. X. 19. The column to which Christ was bound and scourged, was already found; but the blood upon it is first mentioned by Jerome nearly a century afterwards. The *Coenaculum* connected with it was the work of a still later age; as we have already had occasion to remark. See p. 357, above.

2) Thus the traditions respecting the house of Caiaphas, Gethsemane, and various other sites, although slight traces of them are found quite early, appear to have been decked out with new circumstances, as centuries rolled on. In A. D. 870 the monk Bernard speaks of a church on the side of the Mount of Olives, on the spot where the Pharisees brought to Jesus the woman taken in adultery. In the church was preserved a marble tablet, with the writing which our Lord there wrote upon the ground! Itinerar. 13, in Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedict. Saec. III. Pars II. p. 525.

3) A multitude of the minor legends, such as those relating to the place where Peter's cock crew, the houses of the Rich Man and Lazarus, and the like, were probably the work of more modern times. Even the *Via dolorosa* seems to have been first got up during or after the times of the crusades; see above, p. 344.

in Palestine, and their imitators the monks, were themselves for the most part not natives of the country. They knew in general little of its topography; and were unacquainted with the Aramaean, the vernacular language of the common people.[1] They have related only what was transmitted to them by their predecessors, also foreigners; or have given opinions of their own, adopted without critical inquiry and usually without much knowledge. The visitors of the Holy Land in the earlier centuries, as well as the crusaders, all went thither in the character of pilgrims; and looked upon Jerusalem and its environs, and upon the land, only through the medium of the traditions of the Church. And since the time of the crusades, from the fourteenth century onwards to the present day, all travellers, whether pilgrims or visitors, have usually taken up their abode in Jerusalem in the convents; and have beheld the city only through the eyes of their monastic entertainers. European visitors, in particular, have ever lodged, and still lodge, almost exclusively, in the Latin convent; and the Latin monks have in general been their sole guides.

In this way and from all these causes, there has been grafted upon Jerusalem and the Holy Land a vast mass of tradition, foreign in its source and doubtful in

1) Though the Greek language was understood and spoken by the inhabitants in general, yet there is reason to believe that the real mother-tongue of the common people was still the Aramaean. Origen and Jerome appear to have been the only fathers in Palestine who understood Hebrew. The latter, who died in Palestine A. D. 420, made it a particular study, in order to translate the Bible. He mentions the Punic dialect, by which he probably means the Phoenician, as a spoken language; Quaest. ad Gen. xxxvi. 24 ad voce רמים. See Gesenius *Script. et Linguae Phoenic. Monumenta*, pp. 331, 337. In his Comm. in Esa. xix. 18, Jerome also speaks expressly of a "*lingua Cananitide, quae inter Aegyptiam et Hebraeam media est et Hebraeae magna ex parte confinis.*" Various other circumstances go also to show the long continuance of the Aramaean among the common people. The subject is worthy of a more particular investigation than has yet been bestowed upon it.

its character; which has flourished luxuriantly and spread itself out widely over the western world. Palestine, the Holy City, and its sacred places, have been again and again pourtrayed according to the topography of the monks; and according to them alone. Whether travellers were Catholics or Protestants, has made little difference. All have drawn their information from the great storehouse of the convents; and, with few exceptions, all report it apparently with like faith, though with various fidelity. In looking through the long series of descriptions, which have been given of Jerusalem by the many travellers since the fourteenth century, it is curious to observe, how very slightly the accounts differ in their topographical and traditional details. There are indeed occasional discrepancies in minor points; though very few of the travellers have ventured to depart from the general authority of their monastic guides. Or even if they sometimes venture to call in question the value of this whole mass of tradition; yet they nevertheless repeat in like manner the stories of the convents; or at least give nothing better in their place.[1]

Whoever has had occasion to look into these matters for himself, will not be slow to admit, that the views here expressed are in no degree overcharged. It follows from them,—and this is the point to which I would particularly direct the reader's attention,—that *all ecclesiastical tradition respecting the ancient places in and around Jerusalem and throughout Palestine*, IS OF NO VALUE, *except so far as it is supported by circumstances known to us from the Scriptures or from*

1) Even Maundrell, shrewd and accurate as he is elsewhere, gives in Jerusalem little more than what he heard from the monks. Of other travellers, Rauwolf was one of the most independent; and the accounts of Cotovicus (Kootwyk) sometimes vary from the usual form. The independence of Dr. Clarke is sufficiently manifest; but it led him over into an opposite extreme of extravagant hypothesis.

other cotemporary testimony. Thus one of the very earliest traditions on record, that which points out the place of our Lord's ascension on the summit of the Mount of Olives, and which certainly existed in the third century, long before the visit of Helena, is obviously false; because it stands in contradiction to the Scriptural account, which relates that Christ led out his disciples "as far as to Bethany," and there ascended from them into heaven.[1] On the other hand, I would not venture to disturb the traditional location of Rachel's grave on the way towards Bethlehem; for although this is first mentioned by the *Itin. Hieros.* and by Jerome in the fourth century, yet the Scriptural narrative necessarily limits the spot to that vicinity.[2]

On the same general principle, that important work the *Onomasticon*, the production of the successive labours of Eusebius and Jerome, which gives the names and describes the situation of places in the Holy Land, can be regarded in an historical respect, only as a record of the traditions current in their day. The names thus preserved are of the highest importance; but the value of the traditions connected with them, must be proved in the same manner as all others; although in general they were then far less corrupted than in the lapse of subsequent centuries.

The preceding remarks apply more particularly to Jerusalem, and to those parts of Palestine with which the fathers of the Church and the hosts of monks have chiefly occupied themselves. But there is in Palestine another kind of tradition, with which the monasteries have had nothing to do; and of which they have appa-

1) Luke xxiv. 50, 51. Compare Acts i. 12, where it is only said, that the disciples *returned* from Mount Olivet; not that Christ ascended from it.—The tradition alluded to in the text is mentioned by Eusebius, Demonstr. Evang. VI. 18. p. 288. Col. Agr. This work, according to Valesius, was written about A. D. 315, ten years or more before the visit of Helena to Palestine. De Vit. et. Script. Euseb.

2) Gen. xxxv. 16—20. See above, pp. 322, 323.

rently in every age known little or nothing. I mean, *the preservation of the ancient names of places among the common people.* This is a truly national and native tradition; not derived in any degree from the influence of foreign convents or masters; but drawn in by the peasant with his mother's milk, and deeply seated in the genius of the Semitic languages. The Hebrew names of places continued current in their Aramaean form long after the times of the New Testament; and maintained themselves in the mouths of the common people, in spite of the efforts made by Greeks and Romans to supplant them by others derived from their own tongues.[1] After the Muhammedan conquest, when the Aramaean language gradually gave place to the kindred Arabic, the proper names of places, which the Greeks could never bend to their orthography, found here a ready entrance; and have thus lived on upon the lips of the Arabs, whether Christian or Muslim, townsmen or Bedawîn, even unto our own day, almost in the same form in which they have also been transmitted to us in the Hebrew Scriptures.[2]

The nature of the long series of foreign tradition has sometimes been recognised and lamented by travellers and others; while that of the native Arab population has been for the most part overlooked, and its existence almost unknown.[3] Travellers have in

1) It is sufficient to mention here the sounding names Diospolis, Nicopolis, Ptolemais, and Antipatris, which have perished for centuries; while the more ancient ones which they were intended to supplant, are still current among the people, Ludd (Lydda), 'Amwâs (Emmaus), 'Akka, and Kefr Sâba. Yet a few Greek names thus imposed have maintained themselves instead of the ancient ones; as Nâbulus (Neapolis) for Shechem, and Sebŭstieh (Sebaste) for Samaria.

2) The Semitic letter *'Ain* in particular, so unpronounceable by other nations, has a remarkable tenacity. Of the very many Hebrew names containing this letter, that still survive in Arabic, our lists exhibit only two or three in which it has been dropped; and perhaps none in which it has been exchanged for another letter.

3) It may perhaps be asked, whether there does not exist a Jewish tradition, which would also be trustworthy? Not in respect to Jerusalem itself; for the Jews for

general been ignorant of the Arabic language, and unable to communicate with the common people except through the medium of illiterate interpreters; they have mostly followed only beaten paths, where monkish tradition had already marked out all the localities they sought; and in this way few have ever thought of seeking for information among the Arab peasantry. Yet the example of Seetzen and Burckhardt in the countries East of the Jordan might have pointed out a better course; and the multitude of ancient names which they found still current in those regions, where monastic influence had more rarely penetrated, might have stimulated to like researches in western Palestine. Yet this had never been done; and in consequence of this neglect, and of the circumstances alluded to above, it had become a singular, though notorious fact, that notwithstanding the multitude of travellers who have swarmed through Palestine, the countries East of the Jordan were in many respects more accurately and distinctly known, than those upon the West.

In view of this state of things, we early adopted two general principles, by which to govern ourselves in our examination of the Holy Land. The *first* was, to avoid as far as possible all contact with the convents and the authority of the monks; to examine everywhere for ourselves with the Scriptures in our hands; and to apply for information solely to the native Arab population. The *second* was, to leave as much as possible the beaten track, and direct our journies and researches to those portions of the country which had been least visited. By acting upon

centuries could approach the Holy City only to weep over it; see p. 350, above. In other parts of Palestine, a regular Jewish tradition could not well be different from that handed down among the common people. Their early written accounts, as is well known, are not less legendary than those of the Christians.

these two principles, we were able to arrive at many results that to us were new and unexpected; and it is these results alone, which give a value (if any it have) to the present work.

In Jerusalem itself, circumstances favoured our determination. The presence of our countrymen and friends enabled us to live aloof from the convents, and pursue our inquiries with entire independence; a privilege which all travellers cannot command.[1] During the whole time of our sojourn in the Holy City, it so happened that I never entered the Latin convent, nor spoke with a monk. This neglect was not however intentional; for I several times made an appointment to visit the convent, and my companion was there repeatedly. Once only we visited together the great convent of the Armenians, to call upon an English friend who was residing there; and we took this opportunity to look at the richly decorated, but tawdry church of St. James connected with it, which former travellers have sufficiently described. Among the Arab population our inquiries were frequent and minute; and they were answered with kindness and often with good fruit. Yet, as might have been expected, we found less of new information among the Arabs in the Holy City itself, than in other parts of the country. The names of the chief natural features in and around Jerusalem, have been so long and in general so correctly fixed, and have become so familiar to the Christian ear, that whether adopted by the Arabs or not, the Christian traveller involuntarily employs them. Especially is this the case, where the ancient appellation has been dropped by the common people. Thus, who

1) The Latin convent has in former years erected a building, the *Casa nuova*, expressly for the entertainment of travellers and strangers. This is a great convenience in such a city, where inns are unknown; and most travellers are compelled to avail themselves of it.

would abandon the hallowed name of the Mount of Olives, for that of Jebel et-Tûr? or Bethany, for el-'Âzarîyeh? In like manner the names of the Vallies of Jehoshaphat or the Kidron and of Hinnom, have become so fixed in Christian usage, that we even forgot at the time to inquire, whether the Arabs now give them a different appellation.[1]

After these preliminary observations, the reader will be prepared to judge for himself of the following description and details of the Holy City and its antiquities. This account contains nothing but what we ourselves saw, or what we learned on native authority; and is wholly drawn out from our notes written down upon the spot;[2] together with such historical notices as I have been able to collect. The convents and churches and mosks have been described time and again by other travellers; and the traditions of the church and of the monks lie before the Christian world in hundreds of tomes of every size, from the ponderous folios of Quaresmius down to the spruce duodecimos of the Modern Traveller. We did not particularly examine these objects; and therefore I do not describe them.

In respect to those points in which the following account may seem to be at variance with those of former travellers, I have only to say, that we always aimed at the truth according to the best of our ability; and the public must judge of the degree of credit due to our assertions. To point out discrepancies and refute the errors of others, would be a thankless task; and therefore, except in a few special cases, I leave these matters to the consideration and judgment of those who are interested in such researches.

1) Since the above remark was written, I have ascertained that the Arabs employ the same names, viz. Wady Kidrôn or Yehôshâfât, and Wady Jehennam.

2) I must here except the notices kindly communicated to me since my return by Mr. Catherwood.

I. GENERAL TOPOGRAPHY.

Jerusalem, now called by the Arabs *el-Kuds*, "the Holy," and also by Arabian writers *Beit el-Mŭkdis* or *Beit el-Mukaddas*, "the Sanctuary,"[1] lies near the summit of a broad mountain ridge. This ridge or mountainous tract extends without interruption, from the plain of Esdraelon to a line drawn between the South end of the Dead Sea and the S. E. corner of the Mediterranean; or more properly, perhaps, it may be regarded as extending as far South as to Jebel 'Arâif in the desert; where it sinks down at once to the level of the great western plateau. This tract, which is everywhere not less than from twenty to twenty-five geographical miles in breadth, is in fact high uneven table land. It everywhere forms the precipitous western wall of the great valley of the Jordan and the Dead Sea; while towards the West it sinks down by an offset into a range of lower hills, which lie between it and the great plain along the coast of the Mediterranean. The surface of this upper region is everywhere rocky, uneven, and mountainous; and is moreover cut up by deep vallies which run East or West on either side towards the Jordan or the Mediterranean. The line of division, or water-shed, between the waters of these vallies,—a term which here applies almost exclusively to the waters of the rainy season,—follows for the most part the height of land along the ridge; yet not so but that the heads of the vallies which run off in different directions, often interlap for a considerable distance. Thus, for example, a valley which descends to the Jordan often has

1) Abulfed. Syr. ed. Köhler, p. 9. Edrîsi ed. Jaubert I. p. 341. Freytag Lex. Arab. III. p. 408.—Edrîsi also once gives it the name *Aurashalîm*, which is said to be sometimes used by the native Christians; l. c. p. 345.

its head a mile or two westward of the commencement of other vallies, which run to the western sea.

From the great plain of Esdraelon onwards towards the South, the mountainous country rises gradually, forming the tract anciently known as the mountains of Ephraim and Judah; until in the vicinity of Hebron it attains an elevation of nearly 3,000 Paris feet above the level of the Mediterranean Sea. Further North, on a line drawn from the North end of the Dead Sea towards the true West, the ridge has an elevation of only about 2,500 Paris feet; and here, close upon the water-shed, lies the city of Jerusalem.[1] Its mean geographical position is in Lat. 31° 46′ 43″ N. and Long. 35° 13′ E. from Greenwich.[2]

Six or seven miles N. and N. W. of the city is spread out the open plain or basin round about el-Jîb (Gibeon), extending also towards el-Bîreh (Beeroth); the waters of which flow off at its S. E. part through the deep valley here called by the Arabs Wady Beit Hanîna; but to which the monks and travellers have usually given the name of the Valley of Turpentine,

1) According to Schubert's measurements, the town of Hebron has an elevation of 2664 feet. Russegger gives the same at 2842 feet. The adjacent hills are two or three hundred feet higher.—The height of the Mount of Olives, according to Schubert, is 2555 Paris feet.

2) The Latitude here given is the mean of four observations, viz.

Niebuhr	31°	46′	34″	Reisebeschr. Bd. III. Anh. S. 116.
Seetzen	31	47	47	Zach's Monatl. Corr. XVIII. S. 542.
Capt. Corry	31	46	46	Comm. by Sec. of R. Geogr. Soc. Lond.
Moore and Beke	31	45	45	Journ. of R. Geogr. Soc. Lond. Vol. VII. 1837. p. 456.
Mean	31°	46′	43″	differing only 3″ from Corry, and 9″ from Niebuhr.

The Longitude is that found by Capt. Corry from a lunar observation in 1818, kindly communicated by the Sec. of the R. Geogr. Soc. London. This is the only tolerable observation yet made for the Longitude. Seetzen indeed observed imperfectly at three different times; but his results vary more than a degree from each other. The middle one is 32° 46′ E. from Paris, or 35° 6′ 24″ E. from Greenwich. See Zach's Monatl. Corr. XVIII. S. 544. Berghaus has 32° 53′ 09″ E. Paris = 35° 13′ 33″ E. Greenwich; a casual approximation deduced from a comparison of Itineraries from Yâfa. Memoir zu seiner Karte von Syrien, pp. 28, 29.

or of the Terebinth, on the mistaken supposition that it is the ancient Valley of Elah.[1] This great valley passes along in a S. W. direction an hour or more West of Jerusalem; and finally opens out from the mountains into the western plain, at the distance of six or eight hours S. W. from the city, under the name of Wady es-Sŭrâr. The traveller on his way from Ramleh to Jerusalem, descends into and crosses this deep valley at the village of Kŭlônieh on its western side, an hour and a half from the latter city. On again reaching the high ground on its eastern side, he enters upon an open tract sloping gradually downwards towards the East; and sees before him, at the distance of about two miles, the walls and domes of the Holy City, and beyond them the higher ridge or summit of the Mount of Olives.

The traveller now descends gradually towards the city along a broad swell of ground, having at some distance on his left the shallow northern part of the Valley of Jehoshaphat; and close at hand on his right the basin which forms the beginning of the Valley of Hinnom. Further down, both these vallies become deep, narrow, and precipitous; that of Hinnom bends South and again East nearly at right angles, and unites with the other; which then continues its course to the Dead Sea. Upon the broad and elevated promontory within the fork of these two vallies, lies the Holy City. All around are higher hills; on the East, the Mount of Olives; on the South, the Hill of Evil Counsel, so called, rising directly from the Vale of Hinnom; on the West, the ground rises gently, as above described, to the borders of the great Wady; while on the North, a bend of the ridge connected with the Mount of Olives, bounds the prospect at the distance of more than a mile. Towards the S. W. the

1) 1 Sam. xvii. 2, 19.

view is somewhat more open; for here lies the plain of Rephaim, already described,[1] commencing just at the southern brink of the Valley of Hinnom, and stretching off S. W. where it runs to the western sea. In the N. W. too the eye reaches up along the upper part of the Valley of Jehoshaphat; and, from many points, can discern the mosk of Neby Samwîl, situated on a lofty ridge beyond the great Wady, at the distance of two hours.

The surface of the elevated promontory itself, on which the city stands, slopes somewhat steeply towards the East, terminating on the brink of the valley of Jehoshaphat. From the northern part, near the present Damascus Gate, a depression or shallow Wady runs in a southern direction, having on the West the ancient hills of Akra and Zion, and on the East the lower ones of Bezetha and Moriah. Between the hills of Akra and Zion another depression or shallow Wady (still easy to be traced) comes down from near the Yâfa Gate, and joins the former. It then continues obliquely down the slope, but with a deeper bed, in a southern direction quite to the Pool of Siloam and the Valley of Jehoshaphat. This is the ancient Tyropoeon. West of its lower part, Zion rises loftily, lying mostly without the modern city; while on the East of the Tyropoeon and the valley first mentioned, lie Bezetha, Moriah, and Ophel, the last a long and comparatively narrow ridge also outside of the modern city, and terminating in a rocky point over the Pool of Siloam. These three last hills may strictly be taken as only parts of one and the same ridge. The breadth of the whole site of Jerusalem, from the brow of the Valley of Hinnom near the Yâfa Gate to the brink of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, is about 1020 yards, or nearest half a geographical mile; of which dis-

1) See above, pp. 323, 324.

tance 318 yards is occupied by the area of the great mosk, el-Haram esh-Sherîf. North of the Yâfa Gate the city-wall sweeps round more to the West, and increases the breadth of the city in that part.

The country around Jerusalem is all of limestone formation; and not particularly fertile. The rocks everywhere come out above the surface, which in many parts is also thickly strewed with loose stones; and the aspect of the whole region is barren and dreary. Yet the olive thrives here abundantly; and fields of grain are seen in the vallies and level places; but they are less productive than in the region of Hebron and Nâbulus. Neither vineyards nor fig-trees flourish on the high ground around the city; though the latter are found in the gardens below Siloam, and are very frequent in the vicinity of Bethlehem.

II. THE CITY, ITS INTERIOR, ETC.

The Walls. An inscription in Arabic over the Yâfa Gate, as well as others in various places, records that the present walls of Jerusalem were rebuilt by order of Sultan Suleimân in A. H. 948, corresponding to A. D. 1542.[1] They appear to occupy very nearly the site of the former walls of the middle ages, which were several times thrown down and rebuilt during the crusades;[2] a slight deviation only being visible around the N. W. corner, on both the western and northern sides. The materials were probably those of the former walls; and are in great part apparently

1) Or as usually given, A. D. 1543.—Quaresmius assigns the building of the walls to Selim in A. D. 1517; he doubtless could not read the inscriptions. Elucid. II. p. 41.—Belon, who was here about A. D. 1547, mentions that the walls had been recently built up; Observations, etc. p. 143. Paulus' Samml. I. p. 162.—Schweigger in 1576 also ascribes them to Selim, and tells a fabulous story of his causing the lions to be carved over St. Stephen's Gate; Reissbuch des h. Landes, II. p. 122.

2) See further on under "Walls of the Middle Ages."

ancient. They consist wholly of hewn stones, in general not very large, laid in mortar.[1] Many of them are bevelled in the manner which will be described hereafter, evincing an antiquity not later than the times of the Romans; and these are intermingled with others plainly hewn, especially in the upper part of the walls. On the eastern side, the wall of the area of the Haram esh-Sherîf, constitutes also the wall of the city for about half the extent upon this side. The same is true of the southern wall of this area for about two hundred yards from its S. E. corner; at which point the city wall comes up at right angles from the South and unites with the former. The parts of the wall thus connected with the mosk, would seem not to have been rebuilt at the same time with the rest; they are apparently older and more dilapidated; although they exhibit an abundance of patchwork.

The walls of the city have quite a stately and imposing appearance; all of hewn stone, with towers and battlements; the latter crowning a breastwork with loopholes. This has already been described, as protecting the broad walk along the top of the wall within, to which flights of steps lead up at convenient intervals.[2] The height of the walls on the outside varies much with the inequalities of the ground in different parts, from some twenty to fifty feet. At the N. E. corner and along a portion of the northern side, a trench has been cut in the rock outside, along the wall, apparently as a further defence; but in other places equally exposed, there is no trace of any trench. Indeed the walls of Jerusalem, notwithstanding their elevation and imposing aspect, would probably present no great obstacle to the entrance of a regular besieging army.

1) Notwithstanding the mortar, the walls are full of crevices; furnishing a retreat to multitudes of lizards, which are seen gliding over them in all directions.

2) See above, p. 352.

Gates. Jerusalem at present has only four open gates, one on each of the four sides of the city, looking towards the North, South, East, and West. Besides these there were formerly four other mostly smaller gates, now closed up with walls. All these gates appear to occupy the same places as those which existed before the present city-wall was rebuilt; and some of them are evidently themselves earlier structures, which were retained at that time. In this respect we shall recur to them again hereafter, confining ourselves here to their present state and names.

On the West side of the city is the gate called by the natives *Bâb el-Khŭlîl*, or Hebron Gate; but which the Franks call also the Gate of Bethlehem, or of Yâfa, and sometimes Gate of the Pilgrims. From it lead the roads to all these three towns. It consists of a massive square tower; and in going out of the city one enters it from the East and passes out through its northern side.—The breadth of the city from this gate to the western entrance of the Haram esh-Sherîf, is about 2100 feet or 700 yards, as near as we could determine it by paces.

On the North is the Damascus Gate of the Franks; called by the natives *Bâb el-'Amûd*, "Gate of the Pillar." It is more ornamented than the rest. The great road to Nâbulus, Damascus, and the North, leads from it.

St. Stephen's Gate, so called by the Franks, is on the East side of the city, a little North of the area of the great mosk. The Muslims call it *Bâb es-Sŭbât*, "Gate of the Tribes;" while the native Christians give it the name *Bâb Sitty Meryam*, "Gate of my Lady Mary," probably in reference to the church and tomb of the Virgin Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat below. From it lead the roads to the Mount of Olives, Bethany, 'Anâta, etc. Over this gate on the outside

are sculptured four lions; which shows at least that it was not originally the work of Muhammedans.

The southern gate, called by the Franks that of Zion, and by the natives *Bâb en-Neby Dâûd*, "Gate of the Prophet David," opens out only upon the exterior part of Zion, towards the Muslim tomb of David, etc. Several paths indeed wind down from it to the Vallies of Hinnom and Jehoshaphat; but no important road leads from it.

Of the gates now closed up, one is on the North side, about half way between the Damascus Gate and the N. E. corner of the city. It is only a small portal in one of the towers. This is called by Franks the Gate of Herod, and by the natives *Bâb ez-Zahary*, "the flowery."—Another small portal, the Dung Gate of the Franks, is on the South side of the city, a little West of South from the S. W. corner of the area of the mosk, and near the bed of the Tyropoeon. The native name is *Bâb el-Mughâribeh*, "Gate of the Western Africans."[1]—A third is the large double gateway on the eastern side of the area of the great mosk, now called by the natives *Bâb ed-Dahariyeh*, "the Eternal Gate;" but which Franks are wont to speak of as the Golden Gate, *Porta aurea*.[2] This is evidently a structure of antiquity, and will be more fully described hereafter.—The fourth of these gates is adjacent to the South wall of the area of the mosk, just in the corner where the city-wall comes up and joins it. It is a low square tower; and if seen only from the outside, looks as if it had once led up into the area of the mosk. We examined it, and entered it afterwards from the inside, and found that it led only into the city. The

1) The adjacent quarter of the city, near the S. W. part of the court of the great mosk, appears at one time to have been inhabited by a colony of these people. See the History of Jerusalem by Mejr ed-Dîn in A. D. 1495, translated by von Hammer, Fundgruben des Orients, II. pp. 98, 125.

2) The name *Porta aurea* goes back at least to the times of the crusades; Will. Tyr. VIII. 3.

workmanship of it is quite modern. Of this gate I have been able to find no mention, either in Arabian or early Christian writers. Quaresmius is silent as to it; and no Frank traveller appears to have observed it, until within a few years. Richardson saw it only from the outside, and speaks of it under a wrong name, as leading up into the mosk el-Aksa.[1]

The Golden Gate has been walled up for centuries; and the one last mentioned, adjacent to the S. side of the same area, would seem also to have been very long disused. There is no trace of any former path connected with it, either within or without the city. The other two gates, or rather portals,—the Dung Gate and that of Herod, so called,—have been apparently more recently closed. They seem to have been open in Niebuhr's day;[2] and several travellers of the present century mention their names, without specifying whether they were still open or not.[3] At present they are firmly walled up; although a lane which even now leads down through fields of prickly pear towards the Dung Gate, would seem to indicate that the latter had not long been closed.[4]

Mount Zion. Of the hills by which the surface of the city was and is divided into various quarters, that of Zion is the most extensive and important. Its northern part or brow is just South of the street which leads down directly East from the Yâfa Gate, along the bed of the ancient Tyropoeon. In going from this street southwards near the bazars, one comes almost immediately to a sharp though short ascent; and turning to the right along its brow, finds himself higher than the roofs of the small houses which line the

1) Richardson's Travels, etc. II. pp. 255, 292. Prokesch Reise ins h. Land. p. 85

2) Niebuhr's Reisebeschr. III. p. 52. Comp. Kortens Reise, p. 112.

3) Travels of Ali Bey II. p. 244. Chateaubriand Itin. II. pp. 67, 68. Par. 1837. Richardson II. pp. 254, 255. Prokesch. pp. 85, 86.

4) According to Schubert, both these gates have been closed up only since the rebellion of 1834; Reise etc. II. pp. 542, 544.

street below. The ascent towards the S. along the street near by the citadel is more gradual.

On the West and South, Zion rises abruptly from the Valley of Hinnom, which sweeps around its S. W. corner almost at a right angle, descending very rapidly first towards the S. and then towards the E. to the Valley of Jehoshaphat. This circumstance renders the S. W. brow of Zion apparently more lofty than any other point connected with the city now or anciently. This we measured approximately. Beginning at the first tower from the S. W. corner of the city-wall, we measured 865 feet on a course due South to the brow of Zion. Hence the well of Job or Nehemiah bore S. 58° E. at an angle of depression of 12°. Descending now very steeply, still due South, we measured 140 feet at an angle of 11° depression, and 530 feet at an angle of $23\frac{1}{4}$°; and came thus to the bottom of the Valley of Hinnom just East of the road which there crosses it. This gives an elevation above the valley at this point of 154 English feet; which is probably not very far from the truth. The height of Zion above the valley at the S. W. corner of the wall of the city, obtained in the same way, is 104 feet; and that of the ground at the Yâfa Gate, 44 feet. But these differences arise at least as much from the rapid sinking of the valley, as from the increased height of Zion towards the South. The elevation of the southern brow of Zion above the well of Nehemiah, we were unable to obtain; but from the very rapid descent of the Valley of Hinnom in that part, I should be inclined to estimate it at not less than 300 feet.[1]

1) According to Schubert's barometrical measurements, Zion is 241 Paris feet higher than the Valley of Jehoshaphat. But it is not said at what point in that valley the observation was taken; though various reasons render it probable, that it was not lower down than opposite the great mosk. If so, the estimate in the text accords well with that result; for the descent of the Valley of Jehoshaphat from that point to the well of Job, is certainly not less than 60 feet. Schubert's Reise, II. p. 521.

The summit of Zion presents a level tract of considerable extent along its western brow. The eastern side of the hill slopes down steeply, but not in general abruptly, to the Tyropoeon, which separates it from the narrow ridge South of the Haram; while at the extreme S. E. part, below Siloam, it extends quite down to the Valley of Jehoshaphat. Only the northern portion of Zion is included in the modern walls; and this is occupied chiefly by the Jewish quarter, and by the great Armenian convent. Here the eastern side of Zion within the city, adjacent to the Tyropoeon after it bends South, is an abrupt precipice of rock from twenty to thirty feet high, lying overagainst the S. W. part of the area of the Haram esh-Sherîf. This rock is still in its natural state; and probably presents the same appearance as it did in the days of Josephus; though the adjacent valley has doubtless been greatly filled up with rubbish.

Without the walls, the level part of Zion, as we have seen, is occupied by the Christian cemeteries, the house of Caiaphas now an Armenian convent, the Coenaculum or Muslim tomb of David, and the adjacent buildings, formerly a Latin convent. The rest of the surface is now tilled; and the city of David has become a ploughed field! The eastern slope is likewise in part cultivated; and paths wind down along the declivity to Siloam, and also more to the right to the bottom of the Valley of Hinnom. The aqueduct from Solomon's Pools, which crosses the Valley of Hinnom at a point N. of the S. W. corner of the city wall, is then carried along and around the S. W. part of Zion above the valley, till it comes out again high up along the eastern slope and enters the city.

Below the aqueduct, and indeed near the bed of the Tyropoeon, a few rods South of the Dung Gate, is a low arch, forming the outlet of a large sewer from the city. We could not ascertain from what point

within the walls the sewer comes, but it is not improbably brought along beneath the eastern brow of Zion. It was now entirely dry. During the rebellion of the Fellâhs and their siege of Jerusalem in 1834, some of the leaders are said to have passed up through this sewer, and thus got possession of the city.

Akra. North of Zion is the hill of Akra. It is the continuation or rather the termination of the broad ridge or swell of land which lies North of the basin at the head of the Valley of Hinnom, and extends down into the city, forming its N. W. part. Indeed the N. W. corner of the city wall is directly on this ridge; from which spot the wall descends immediately towards the N. E. and also though less rapidly towards the S. E. To the whole ridge, both without and within the city, a comparatively modern tradition has given the name of Mount Gihon; though there is no trace of any hill so named in Scripture or other ancient history.[1] Within the walls, this hill or ridge is separated from Zion, as we have seen, by the upper part of the Tyropoeon; which commences as a shallow depression near the Yâfa Gate.

When one enters the Yâfa Gate and takes the first street leading North immediately from the adjacent open place, he has before him at first a considerable ascent; though afterwards the way is more level quite to the Latin convent in the N. W. part of the city. In the street leading North below the Pool of Hezekiah, and also in that along the bazars, this ascent is less perceptible. The church of the Holy Sepulchre stands directly on the ridge of Akra; and from it and from that neighbourhood, there is everywhere a considerable declivity towards the Damascus Gate. The ground also descends eastward from the Latin convent

1) The name of Gihon, as applied to this ridge, seems to be first mentioned by Brocardus about A. D. 1283, Cap. IX.

to the same church; and then again by a still steeper declivity from the church to the street along the valley between Akra and the area of the great mosk.

Bezetha. Eastward from the Damascus Gate, and northeasterly from Akra, lies the hill of Bezetha. It is separated from Akra by the rather broad valley which has its commencement in the plain just around the Damascus Gate, and runs in a southerly direction till it unites with the Tyropoeon below the point of Akra. The western side of Bezetha is nearly or quite as high as Akra;[1] while towards the East it slopes gradually down to the brow of the Valley of Jehoshaphat. The western side, near the gate of Damascus, is very steep; as are also the northern and southern sides in this quarter. Indeed the north wall of the city runs along its northern brow; and the rock on the outside is there precipitous; with a wide and deep trench at its base cut through the solid rock.

The summit of Bezetha is now mostly covered with low buildings, or rather hovels; and on the S. E. part are also dwellings and the ruined church connected with the former nunnery of the house of Anna.[2] But in the N. E. the whole slope within the city walls is occupied by gardens, fields, and olive-yards, with comparatively few houses or ruined dwellings; the whole having more the aspect of a village in the country, than of a quarter in a city. The top of the hill presents a fine view of the other parts of Jerusalem. We saw here no traces of ancient ruins; although the monks have chosen to assign this location to a palace of the younger (Herod) Agrippa.[3]

1) Josephus says Bezetha was higher than any of the other hills; B. J. V. 5. 8. This is probably meant of the hills of the lower city, Moriah and Akra; and is true as to the part of Akra which lay within the second wall. But the language could not well be true in respect to Zion.

2) See above, p. 344.

3) This hypothesis is mentioned by Marinus Sanutus, A. D. 1321, (III. 14. 10,) but appears to be wholly groundless. The main pas-

Moriah. I have already remarked, that the part of Jerusalem lying between the Valley of Jehoshaphat and the valley running down from the Damascus Gate to the Pool of Siloam, may be regarded as one ridge, having on it the separate summits or hills Bezetha and Moriah; and corresponding further down perhaps to the ancient quarter Ophel. Moriah was apparently at first an elevated mound of rock, rising by itself upon this ridge, overagainst the eastern point of Akra. The temple was placed upon the levelled summit of this rock; and then immense walls were erected from its base on the four sides; and the interval between them and the sides filled in with earth, or built up with vaults; so as to form on the top a large area on a level with the temple.[1] This area or court of the ancient temple, as we shall see hereafter, was probably not very different from the present enclosure of the Haram esh-Sherîf. This is now separated from the rocky brow of Zion by the Tyropoeon; and from Akra by the valley which comes from the Damascus Gate.

In passing along this valley through the present street towards the South, apparently just before coming to the Tyropoeon, one crosses over a small rise of ground. This is probably rubbish, the accumulation of ages; though the houses in the vicinity prevented us from ascertaining whether it extends quite across the valley. It is also possible, that this mound may serve to carry the aqueduct from Solomon's Pools into the area of the mosk; which is everywhere higher

sage which Quaresmius cites from Josephus in support of it, (Antiq. XX. 8, 11,) contradicts it expressly. Josephus there relates, that Agrippa built a house or palace near the Xystus, whence he could see from his couch whatever was going on in the temple; and to prevent this the Jews raised a high wall on the *west* side of the temple. All this of course fixes the site of the palace upon the N. E. part of Zion. See Quaresm. Elucid. Terrae Sanct. II. p. 204.

1) Joseph. B. J. V. 5. 1.

than the bottom of this valley. Indeed all the western entrances of the mosk are reached by an ascent; and some of them at least by steps.

On the North side, Moriah is not now separated from Bezetha by any valley or trench; except in part by the large reservoir commonly called Bethesda. The street which leads to the eastern gate of the city passes here; ascending somewhat from the valley near the N. W. corner of the area, having the steep part of Bezetha on the left; and then descending gradually to St. Stephen's Gate.

Ophel. This is the remainder of the ridge extending South from Moriah to Siloam, between the deep Valley of Jehoshaphat on the East and the steep but shallower Tyropoeon on the West. The top of the ridge is flat, descending rapidly towards the S. sometimes by offsets of rock; and the ground is tilled and planted with olive and other fruit-trees. At the northern end, just at the S. E. corner of the *city*-wall, (not that of the mosk,) the surface is already 100 feet lower than the top of the wall of the area of the mosk. From this point I measured 1550 feet or about 516 yards on a course S. 20° W. to the end of the ridge, a rocky point forty or fifty feet above the Pool of Siloam in the mouth of the Tyropoeon. The breadth of the ridge, as measured about the middle, I found to be 290 feet, or about 96 yards, from brow to brow.

Chief Streets. The principal streets in Jerusalem run nearly at right angles to each other. Very few if any of them bear names among the native population.[1] They are narrow and badly paved, being merely laid irregularly with large stones, with a deep square chan-

1) Chateaubriand in his *Itineraire* professes to give the names of all the chief streets; but our friends, who had resided several years in the city, and made frequent inquiries, had never been able to hear of any, except in one or two instances.

nel in the middle; but the steepness of the ground contributes to keep them cleaner than in most oriental cities. Of those running down eastwards from the upper to the lower part of the city, the chief are, the one leading from the Yâfa Gate directly to the Haram esh-Sherîf, and that from the Latin convent to St. Stephen's Gate. This last includes the *Via dolorosa*. The principal streets running from South to North are, that just below the Pool of Hezekiah, those of the Bazar, and that along the hollow parallel to the Haram. Those on Zion seem in general to be less frequented.

Circumference of the Holy City. One of the first measurements which I took in Jerusalem, was that of the circumference of the walls. This was done with a measuring tape of one hundred English feet, carried by our two servants, while I noted down the results. We measured as closely as possible to the walls, yet without regarding the short angles and smaller zigzags. We started from the Yâfa Gate and proceeded first southwards and so around the city.

	Eng. Feet.	Gen. Course.
1. From the Yâfa Gate to the S. W. corner of the city, first descending and then ascending .	1400	S.
2. Zion Gate, level	600	Easterly.
3. Dung Gate (closed), descending . . .	1700	N. Easterly
4. S. E. corner of *city*-wall, nearly level . .	500	E.
5. Wall of area of Great Mosk, S. side, ascending	290	N.
6. S. E. corner of wall of Mosk, level . . .	630	E.
7. Golden Gate (closed), slightly ascending .	1045	N.
8. N. E. corner of area of Mosk, level . . .	483	N.
9. St. Stephen's Gate, level	200	N.
10. N. E. corner of city, level	1062	N.
11. Herod's Gate (closed), along the trench, level	1000	Westerly
12. Damascus Gate, uneven	1200	Westerly
13. N. W. corner of city, ascending . . .	1990	S. Westerly
14. Yâfa Gate, descending gradually . . .	878	S. 40° E.
	12,978 Feet,	
	or 4,326 Yards.	

This gives for the whole circumference a distance of $2\frac{1}{2}$ English miles less 74 yards; or very nearly $2\frac{1}{8}$ geographical miles.

III. ADJACENT VALLIES AND HILLS.

Valley of Jehoshaphat. Brook Kidron. The deep valley on the East of Jerusalem appears to be mentioned both in the Old and New Testament only under the name of the Brook or Torrent Kidron. Josephus also gives it only the same name.[1] The prophet Joel speaks indeed of a Valley of Jehoshaphat, in which God will judge the heathen for their oppression of the Jews; but this seems to be merely a metaphorical allusion to the signification of the name.[2] There is not the slightest historical ground, either in the Scriptures or in Josephus, for connecting it with the valley of the Kidron.[3] Yet on this slender foundation appears to rest the present name of the valley; and also the belief current among the Catholics, Jews, and Muhammedans, that the last judgment will be held in it.[4] The name Jehoshaphat, however, was already

1) 2 Sam. xv. 23. 1 Kings ii. 38. etc. The Hebrew word is נַחַל, which may be taken as nearly equivalent to the Arabic *Wady*. The Seventy, the New Testament, and also Josephus, have χείμαῤῥος, a storm-brook, winter-torrent; see as above, and John xviii. 1. Joseph. Ant. VIII. 1. 5. Josephus has also φάραγξ Κεδρών, B. J. V. 2. 3. V. 4. 2.

2) Joel iii. (iv.) 2, 12. Jehoshaphat, Heb. יְהוֹשָׁפָט i. e. *Jehovah judgeth.* The reference sometimes made to 2 Chr. c. xx. has no bearing upon the illustration of Joel l.c.

3) It is hardly necessary to remark, that there is likewise no historical ground for connecting this valley in any way with the Valley of Shaveh or the King's Dale, Gen. xiv. 17. 2 Sam. xviii. 18.

4) Doubdan Voyage, etc. p. 262. Quaresmius Elucid. Terr. Sanct. II. p. 156. Reland Pal. p. 355. Raumer's Pal. ed. 2, p. 327. Travels of Ali Bey, II. p. 224. Hist. of Jerus. by Mejr ed-Dîn, Fundgruben des Orients, II. p. 381.—This latter writer calls the valley, or at least the part N. of the city, in allusion to the same belief, *es-Sâherah;* p. 133. But both he and also Bohaeddin in the twelfth century, give to the part along and below the city, the name of *Jehennam* (Gehinnom); ibid. p. 133. Bohaed. Vit. Saladin. p. 73. ed. Schult.

applied to it in the earliest ages of the Christian era; for it is found in Eusebius and other writers of the fourth century.[1] There is therefore no good reason, why we should not employ this name at the present day. The Arabs too have adopted it, under the form of Wady Yehôshâfât.

It is remarkable that no writer (at least so far as I have been able to discover) has given the topography of the upper part of this valley; nor correctly described either the place of its beginning, nor its course below the well of Nehemiah. One of the latest and most exact travellers has even said, that it commences near the N. E. corner of the city.[2] For this reason, the following details are here given.

In approaching Jerusalem from the high mosk of Neby Samwîl in the N. W. the traveller first descends and crosses the bed of the great Wady Beit Hanîna already described. He then ascends again towards the S. E. by a small side Wady and along a rocky slope for twenty-five minutes, when he reaches the Tombs of the Judges, lying in a small gap or depression of the ridge, still half an hour distant from the northern gate of the city. A few steps further he reaches the water-shed between the great Wady behind him and the tract before him; and here is the head of the Valley of Jehoshaphat. From this point the Dome of the Holy Sepulchre bears S. by E. The tract around this spot is very rocky; and the rocks have been much cut away, partly in quarrying building-stone, and partly in the formation of sepulchres. The region is full of excavated tombs; and these continue with more or less frequency on both sides of the valley, all

1) Euseb. Onomast. art. *Κοιλάς*, *Coelas*. Cyrill in Joel iii. (iv.) 2, 12. Itinerar. Hierosol. p. 594, ed. Wesseling.

2) Prokesch, p. 86. So also, by implication, Quaresmius, Tom. II. pp. 151, 155.

the way down to Jerusalem. The valley runs for fifteen minutes directly towards the city; it is here shallow and broad, and in some parts tilled, though very stony. The road follows along its bottom to the same point. The valley now turns nearly East, almost at a right angle, and passes to the northward of the Tombs of the Kings and the Muslim Wely before mentioned.[1] Here it is about two hundred rods distant from the city; and the tract between is tolerably level ground, planted with olive-trees. The Nâbulus road crosses it in this part, and ascends the hill on the North. The valley is here still shallow, and runs in the same direction for about ten minutes. It then bends again to the South, and following this general course, passes between the city and the Mount of Olives.

Before reaching the city, and also opposite its northern part, the valley spreads out into a basin of some breadth, which is tilled, and contains plantations of olive and other fruit-trees. In this part it is crossed obliquely by a road leading from the N. E. corner of Jerusalem across the northern part of the Mount of Olives to 'Anâta. Its sides are still full of excavated tombs. As the valley descends, the steep side upon the right becomes more and more elevated above it; until at the gate of St. Stephen, the height of this brow is about 100 feet. Here a path winds down from the gate on a course S. E. by E. and crosses the valley by a bridge; beyond which are the church with the Tomb of the Virgin, Gethsemane, and other plantations of olive-trees, already described.[2] The path and bridge are on a causeway, or rather terrace, built up across the valley, perpendicular on the S. side; the earth being filled in on the northern side up to the level of the bridge. The bridge itself consists of

1) Page 355.

2) See page 345—347.

an arch, open on the S. side, and 17 feet high from the bed of the channel below; but the N. side is built up, with two subterranean drains entering it from above; one of which comes from the sunken court of the Virgin's Tomb, and the other from the fields further in the Northwest.[1] The breadth of the valley at this point, will appear from the measurements which I took from St. Stephen's Gate to Gethsemane, along the path, viz.

	Eng. Feet.
1. From St. Stephen's Gate to the brow of the descent, level, .	135
2. Bottom of the slope, the angle of the descent being 16½° .	415
3. Bridge, level	140
4. N. W. corner of Gethsemane, slight rise	145
5. N. E. corner of do. do.	150

The last three numbers give the breadth of the proper bottom of the valley at this spot, viz. 435 feet, or 145 yards. Further North it is somewhat broader.

Below the bridge the valley contracts gradually, and sinks more rapidly. The first continuous traces of a water-course or torrent-bed commence at the bridge; though they occur likewise at intervals higher up. The western hill becomes steeper and more elevated; while on the East the Mount of Olives rises much higher, but is not so steep. At the distance of 1,000 feet from the bridge on a course S. 10° W. the bottom of the valley has become merely a deep gully, the narrow bed of a torrent, from which the hills rise directly on each side. Here another bridge is thrown across it on an arch; and just by on the left are the alleged tombs of Jehoshaphat, Absalom and others; as also the Jewish cemetery. The valley now continues of the same character, and follows the same

1) This bridge too has been ascribed to Helena; Breydenbach in Reissbuch des heil. Landes, p. 111. Adrichom. Theatrum Terræ Sanct. page 171.

course (S. 10° W.) for 550 feet further; where it makes a sharp turn for a moment towards the right. This portion is the narrowest of all; it is here a mere ravine between high mountains. The S. E. corner of the area of the mosk overhangs this part, the corner of the wall standing upon the very brink of the declivity. From it to the bottom, on a course S. E. the angle of depression is 27°, and the distance 450 feet; giving an elevation of 128 feet at that point; to which may be added 20 feet or more for the rise of ground just North along the wall; making in all an elevation of about 150 feet.[1] This however is the highest point above the valley; for further South, the narrow ridge of Ophel slopes down as rapidly as the valley itself.—In this part of the valley one would expect to find, if anywhere, traces of ruins thrown down from above, and the ground raised by the rubbish thus accumulated. Occasional blocks of stone are indeed seen; but neither the surface of the ground, nor the bed of the torrent, exhibits any special appearance of having been raised or interrupted by masses of ruins.

Below the short turn above mentioned, a line of 1,025 feet on a course S. W. brings us to the fountain of the Virgin, lying deep under the western hill. The valley has now opened a little; but its bottom is still occupied only by the bed of the torrent. From here a course S. 20° W. carried us along the village of Siloam (Kefr Selwân) on the eastern side, and at 1,170

1) The first time we passed along the western brow of the Valley of Jehoshaphat in this part, in company with Mr. Nicolayson, and looked down upon it from above at the S. E. corner of the area of the mosk, we all judged the depth to be 200 feet. By an error, which is very remarkable in him, Niebuhr estimates the general depth of the valley here at only 40 or 50 feet; Reisebeschr. III. p. 54; Anhang p. 143. Olshausen's Topogr. des alt. Jerus. pp. 72, 73.—The measurement given in the text, although only an approximation, is yet near enough to the truth to correct both these estimates.

feet we were opposite the mouth of the Tyropoeon and the Pool of Siloam, which lies 255 feet within it. The mouth of this valley is still 40 or 50 feet higher than the bed of the Kidron. The steep descent between the two has been already described as built up in terraces; which, as well as the strip of level ground below, are occupied with gardens belonging to the village of Siloam. These are irrigated by the waters of the Pool of Siloam, which at this time were lost in them. In these gardens the stones have been removed, and the soil is a fine mould. They are planted with fig and other fruit-trees, and furnish also vegetables for the city. Elsewhere the bottom of the valley is thickly strewed with small stones.

Further down, the valley opens more and is tilled. A line of 685 feet on the same course (S. 20° W.) brought us to a rocky point of the eastern hill, here called the Mount of Offence, overagainst the entrance of the Valley of Hinnom. Thence to the well of Job or Nehemiah, is 275 feet due South. At the junction of the two vallies, the bottom forms an oblong plat, extending from the gardens above mentioned nearly to the well of Job, and being 150 yards or more in breadth. The western and northwestern parts of this plat are in like manner occupied by gardens; many of which are also on terraces, and receive a portion of the waters of Siloam.

Below the well of Nehemiah, the Valley of Jehoshaphat continues to run S. S. W. between the Mount of Offence and the Hill of Evil Counsel, so called. At 130 feet is a small cavity or outlet by which the water of the well sometimes runs off. At about 1,200 feet or 400 yards from the well, is a place under the western hill, where in the rainy season water flows out as from a fountain. At about 1,500 feet or 500 yards below the well, the valley bends off S. 75° E. for

half a mile or more; and then turns again more to the South and pursues its way to the Dead Sea. At the angle where it thus bends eastward, a small Wady comes in from the West, from behind the Hill of Evil Counsel. The width of the main valley below the well as far as to the turn, varies from 50 to 100 yards; it is full of olive and fig-trees, and is in most parts ploughed and sown with grain.—Further down, it takes the name among the Arabs of Wady er-Râhib, "Monks' Valley," from the convent of St. Saba situated on it; and still nearer to the Dead Sea it is also called Wady en-Nâr, "Fire Valley."

The channel of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, the Brook Kidron of the Scriptures, is nothing more than the dry bed of a wintry torrent, bearing marks of being occasionally swept over by a large volume of water. No stream flows here now except during the heavy rains of winter, when the waters descend into it from the neighbouring hills. Yet even in winter there is no constant flow; and our friends, who had resided several years in the city, had never seen a stream running through the valley. Nor is there any evidence, that there was anciently more water in it than at present. Like the Wadys of the desert, the valley probably served of old, as now, only to drain off the waters of the rainy season.

Valley of Hinnom. This valley is so called in the Old Testament; though more commonly in the fuller form, Valley of the Son of Hinnom.[1] The Arabian writer Edrîsi in the twelfth century apparently includes the lower part of it under the name Wady Jehennam; and this is the usual name for the whole

1) גֵּי הִנֹּם Josh. xv. 8. גֵּי בֶן הִנֹּם Jer. xix. 2, 6. Hence are derived the Greek *Γέεννα*, and the corresponding English forms *Gehinnom*, *Gehenna*.

Wady among the Arabs at the present day.[1] Its commencement, as we have seen, is in the broad sloping basin on the West of the city, South of the Yâfa road, extending up nearly to the brow of the great Wady on the West. The large reservoir, commonly called the Upper Pool, or Gihon, may be regarded as a sort of central point in this basin; from which the land slopes upwards by a gentle acclivity on every side except the East. On this side the ground descends towards the Yâfa Gate, forming a broad hollow or valley between the two swells on the N. and S. This part might perhaps not improperly be termed the Valley of Gihon; though the name Gihon in Scripture is applied only to a fountain.

From the eastern side of the said Upper Pool the course of the valley is S. 51° E. for the distance of 1900 feet, to the bend opposite the Yâfa Gate. The valley is here from 50 to 100 yards in width. The bottom is everywhere thickly covered with small stones; but is nevertheless sown, and a crop of lentiles was now growing upon it. From this point up to the Yâfa Gate was a distance of 400 feet, viz. 100 in the valley, 200 on the steep slope at an angle of 20°, and 100 on the level of the Gate above. Hence the depth of the valley is here 44 feet below the Gate.— The valley now descends on a course S. 10° W. for 2107 feet, to the bend at the S. W. corner of Zion. In this distance, 875 feet brings us to the aqueduct as it crosses the valley; at 220 feet further is the upper end of the Lower Pool, the length of which in the middle is 592 feet; and the remaining 420 feet lie between the pool and the angle of the valley. In this part the valley continues about of the same breadth, grows

1) Edrîsi, p. 345. ed. Jaubert. Other Arabic writers, as we have seen, apply this name to the Valley of Jehoshaphat. See above, p. 396. Note 4.

deeper, is planted with olive and other fruit-trees, and is in some places tilled.—A new course of S. 40° E. strikes the S. side at the distance of 700 feet; and then another of S. 75° E. carries us 625 feet further. In this last, at 130 feet, a path crosses the valley leading up over the hills towards Bethlehem; and 75 feet below this road is the point to which we measured in order to determine the height of Zion; which last is here 154 feet.[1]—From the end of this course, the valley runs due East, for the space of 1440 feet. For about 400 feet of this distance, the breadth remains the same as above; and the fruit-trees and tillage continue. The southern hill is steep, rocky, and full of tombs. At 440 feet the valley contracts, becomes quite narrow and stony, and descends with much greater rapidity. Towards the end of the course it opens again, and meets the gardens in the oblong plat where it forms a junction with the Valley of Jehoshaphat. The S. E. corner of Zion here runs down and out in a low point. From the end of the last course to the well of Nehemiah, is a distance of 480 feet, measured on a course S. 30° E.

In these gardens, lying partly within the mouth of Hinnom and partly in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and irrigated by the waters of Siloam, Jerome assigns the place of Tophet; where the Jews practised the horrid rites of Baal and Moloch, and "burned their sons and their daughters in the fire."[2] It was probably in allusion to this detested and abominable fire, that the later Jews applied the name of this valley (Gehenna), to

1) See above, p. 389.

2) 2 Kings xviii. 10. Jer. vii. 32. Hieron. Comm. in Jer. vii. 31. Ejusd. Comm. in Matth. x. 28. The description in the text explains an apparent inconsistency in the language of Jerome in the passages here cited. In the first he speaks of Tophet as a pleasant spot in the Valley of Hinnom, with trees and gardens watered from Siloam. In the other, he describes it in like manner, but as lying at the foot of Moriah, near Siloam. He evidently regarded Ophel as belonging to Moriah.

denote the place of future punishment or the fires of hell. At least there is no evidence of any other fires having been kept up in the valley; as has sometimes been supposed.[1]

Mount of Olives. This mountain, so celebrated both in the Old and New Testament, is called by the Arabs Jebel et-Tûr;[2] and lies on the East of Jerusalem, from which it is separated only by the narrow Valley of Jehoshaphat, as above described. It is usually said to have three summits; the middle and apparently highest of which, directly opposite the city, has been falsely assumed by a very early tradition, as the place of our Lord's ascension.[3] Towards the South it sinks down into a lower ridge overagainst the well of Nehemiah, called now by Franks the Mount of Offence, in allusion to the idolatrous worship established by Solomon "in the hill that is before [eastward of] Jerusalem."[4] Across this part leads the usual road to Bethany. Towards the North, at the distance of just about an English mile, is another summit nearly or quite as high as the middle one. The ridge between the two, curves somewhat eastwards, leaving room for the valley below to expand a little in this part. The view of Jerusalem and of the Dead Sea from the middle summit has already been described. That from the northern one is similar.[5]

1) See Rosenmüller Biblische Geogr. II. i. pp. 156, 164.

2) Edrîsi writes also Jebel Zeitûn, i. e. Mount of Olives; p. 344. ed. Jaubert.

3) For the date and character of this tradition, see above, p. 375. The chapel founded originally by Helena, is now in the possession of the Armenians, who have recently erected here a new building. See Euseb. de Vit. Const. III. 43.

4) 1 Kings xi. 7, 8. I have been able to find neither the name *Mons Offensionis*, nor any allusion to this spot as the place of Solomon's idolatry, earlier than the time of Brocardus, A. D. 1283, cap. IX.

5) See Note XXIV, at the end of the volume.—Maundrell regards the northern summit as the highest point of all; which indeed may very possibly be the fact.

The elevation of the central peak of the Mount of Olives above the sea is given by Schubert at 2556 Paris feet, or 416 Paris feet above the Valley of Jehoshaphat. Hence it appears to be 175 Paris feet higher than the highest point of Zion.[1] From the Wely on the eastern point of this summit, I was able to obtain a base extending in the due magnetic North along the ridge 1426 yards. From the Wely I took the following bearings among others:

Neby Samwîl	N. 40° W.
Eastern Dome of Church of the Holy Sepulchre .	N. 86½° W.
Frank Mountain	S. 9½° W.
N. W. corner or bay of Dead Sea	S. 81° E.

The measurements taken from the ends of the base, give for the distance of the N. W. corner of the Dead Sea from the Wely 14.34 geographical miles; and for the distance of the eastern dome of the Church of the Sepulchre from the same point, 1753 yards, or a trifle short of an English mile. The former distance can be regarded only as an approximation; the latter is probably not far from the truth. Bethlehem is not seen from the Wely; nor was Kerak visible at the time, to my great regret, in consequence of the hazy atmosphere.[2]

Beyond the northern summit, the ridge of the Mount of Olives sweeps round towards the West, and spreads out into the high level tract North of the city, which is skirted on the West and South by the upper part of the Valley of Jehoshaphat. The road to Nâbulus, passing near the Tombs of the Kings, crosses the valley and rises by a somewhat long but not steep ascent to this high tract, on which lies the village of Sha'fât at the left of the road, about fifty minutes distant from

1) Schubert's Reise, II. p. 521.

2) My intention was to have assumed the other station on the northern summit; but from that point the view of the N. W. corner of the Dead Sea is intercepted by a ridge. See more on this base in Vol. III. First Append. p. 40.

the Damascus Gate. The brow of the ascent, distant about twenty-five minutes from the same gate, presents the interesting northern prospect of the city, which has been so celebrated by travellers. It is indeed fine; but a still better point of view is that upon the other road more to the right, leading over to 'Anâta.—This high level tract and brow upon the Nâbulus road, is without much doubt the Scopus of Josephus, where Cestus coming from Gabaon (el-Jîb), and afterwards Titus coming from Gophna, both encamp, at the distance of seven stadia from Jerusalem; and the latter obtains his first view of the splendid city and its magnificent temple.[1]

Hill of Evil Counsel. South of Zion, beyond the Valley of Hinnom, rises the Hill of Evil Counsel so called; forming the steep southern side or wall of that valley. From the bottom, it rises in most parts very steeply for 20 or 30 feet, with precipitous ledges of rock, in which are many excavated sepulchres. Higher up, the acclivity is more gradual. The highest point is on the West, nearly South of the S. W. part of Zion, and a little to the left of the Bethlehem road. This is nearly or quite as high as Zion itself, but not so steep; and from it the ridge slopes down towards the East to the Valley of Jehoshaphat, in the same manner as Zion, though not so rapidly. South of this ridge, a small Wady has its head, which runs down eastwards, and enters the Valley of Jehoshaphat, as we have seen, 500 yards below the well of Nehemiah, just where the latter valley turns to the East. This Wady is of course parallel to that of Hinnom; but is not half so deep. Still further South, beyond the Wady, is another higher hill or mountain, which continues towards the East without sinking from its high level, and skirts the Valley of Jehoshaphat on the

1) Joseph. B. J. II. 19. 4. V. 2. 3.

South, after the latter has turned eastward on its course towards the Dead Sea.

The summit overagainst Zion affords a pleasing view towards the S. W. down the broad Valley of Rephaim, which was now almost covered with green fields of wheat. Here are also remains of buildings apparently of no antiquity. One in particular seemed once to have been a small church, or perhaps a Muslim Wely, or other tomb. The general appearance is that of the ruins of an Arab village; and such an one stood here two centuries ago.[1] We suppose this to be the site named by the Arabs Deir el-Kaddîs Môdîstûs, called also Deir Abu Tôr. These ruins the monks dignify with the name of the Villa or Country-house of Caiaphas; in which, according to them, the Jews took counsel to destroy Jesus. Hence the present appellation of the hill; of which name however there is no trace extant, so far as I can find, earlier than the latter part of the fifteenth century.[2] Nor does the name seem to have become very well settled; for travellers vary considerably in respect to the application of it.[3] I have here retained it for want of a better; and because we did not learn the Arabic name.

IV. TOPOGRAPHY OF JOSEPHUS.

Having thus gone through with the topographical details of the present city and its environs, let us now cast a glance back upon the earliest historical ac-

1) So Cotovicus in A. D. 1598; p. 223. Doubdan in A. D. 1652; p. 139.

2) Matt. xxvi. 3, 4. John xi. 47–53. This legend is apparently first mentioned by Felix Fabri in A. D. 1483; but he calls the hill Gyon (Gihon) contrary to Brocardus and others; Reissbuch des h. Landes, Ed. 2. p. 257. De Saligniac in 1522 has *Castrum Mali Consilii;* Tom. X. c. 2. Cotovicus mentions both names, as applying only to the village which he saw on the summit, viz. *Villa Caiphae*, and *Vicus Mali Consilii;* p. 223. Quaresmius has *Mons Mali Consilii;* Elucid. II. p. 177.

3) Zuallardo, A. D. 1586, makes this the Mount of Offence; Viaggio di Gierusalemme, p. 136. Roma 1595.

counts, and see how far the notices they contain of the topography of the city as it then was, correspond to its present state; and whether they serve to identify, in any degree, the site of ancient Jerusalem with that of the modern city, upon which its name and history have descended as by inheritance. The Scriptures furnish us, in this respect, with only scattered notices; which, although strongly illustrating occasional facts, cannot be combined into a uniform whole. But in Josephus, the historian of his nation, who brings down his account to the terrible destruction of Jerusalem under Titus, we have a tolerably full description of the city, as it was in his day. Having sketched the progress of the Roman conqueror in his advance to the very gates, and recounted his dispositions for the siege, this writer stops short in his narration, in order to lay before his readers a topographical sketch of the city and temple, as they then existed, before the tremendous overthrow to which they were so soon subjected. This account is to us invaluable; and could not be supplied from any or all other sources.

According to Josephus,[1] Jerusalem was enclosed by a triple wall, wherever it was not encircled by impassable vallies; for here it had but a single wall. The ancient city lay upon two hills overagainst each other, separated by an intervening valley, at which the houses terminated. Of these hills, that which bore the upper city, was the highest, and was straighter in extent. On account of its fortifications, it was called by King David the Fortress or Citadel;[2] Jose-

1) De Bell. Jud. V. c. 4. The description of the temple follows in c. 5.—The works of this writer are too common, both in the original and in translations, to render any thing more than an abstract necessary in the text.

2) This serves to identify it with the hill of Zion; comp. 2 Sam. v. 7–9.—Josephus seems studiously to avoid using the name Zion, which I have not been able to find in his works. The writer of the first Book of Maccabees, on the other hand, applies it to the site of the temple; i. e. he makes it include Moriah. 1 Macc. iv. 37, 60, etc.

phus calls it the Upper Market. The other hill, sustaining the lower city, and called Akra, had the form of the gibbous moon.[1] Overagainst this was a third hill, naturally lower than Akra, and separated from it by another broad valley. But in the time when the Asmonaeans had rule, they threw earth into this valley, intending to connect the city with the temple; and working upon Akra, they lowered the height of it, so that the temple rose conspicuously above it.[2] The Valley of the Tyropoeon or Cheesemakers, as it was called, which has already been mentioned as separating the hills of the Upper and Lower City, extended quite down to Siloam,—a fountain so named, whose waters were sweet and abundant. From without, the two hills of the city were enclosed by deep vallies; and there was here no approach because of the precipices on every side.

Of the walls of the ancient city, as described by Josephus, it will be sufficient for our present purpose to give here merely an outline; reserving a more exact examination to another place. The single wall, which enclosed that part of the city skirted by precipitous vallies, began at the tower of Hippicus.[3] On the West it extended (southwards) to a place called Bethso and the gate of the Essenes; thence it kept along on the South to a point over Siloam; and thence on the East was carried along by Solomon's Pool and

1) In Greek, ἀμφίκυρτος. See Reland Palaest. p. 852. But this word may also mean nothing more than that Akra was "sloping on both sides," i. e. was a ridge running down into the city.

2) There is some doubt as to the correctness of this account. Josephus elsewhere connects this lowering of the hill Akra with the demolition of a fortress built upon it by Antiochus and the Syrians; Antiq. XIII. 6. 6. Comp. XII. 5. 4. But the writer of the first Book of Maccabees, an earlier authority, describes this fortress as having been in the city of David, the upper city of Josephus, on Mount Zion; and instead of having been destroyed, Simon Maccabeus strengthened it, and made it his residence; 1 Macc. i. 33. [35.] xiii. 50, seq. xiv. 36, 37. See Crome, art. *Jerusalem*, p. 281, seq. in Ersch and Gruber's Encyclopädie.

3) Joseph. B. J. V. 4. 2.

Ophla (Ophel), till it terminated at the eastern portico of the temple.[1]—Of the triple walls, the following account is given. The first and oldest of these began at the tower of Hippicus, on the northern part, and extending (along the northern brow of Zion[2]) to the Xystus, afterwards terminated at the western portico of the temple. The second wall began at the gate of Gennath, (apparently near Hippicus,) and encircling only the northern part of the city, extended to the castle of Antonia at the N. W. corner of the area of the temple.[3] The third wall was built by Agrippa at a later period; it also had its beginning at the tower of Hippicus, ran northwards as far as to the tower Psephinos; and then sweeping round towards the N. E. and E. it turned afterwards towards the South, and was joined to the ancient wall at or in the valley of the Kidron. This wall first enclosed the hill Bezetha.

Let us now for a moment search further for some notices which may determine the relative position of the parts of the ancient city in respect to each other. We have seen that the upper city or citadel (Zion) was separated from the lower city or Akra by the Tyropoeon; that the temple was situated "overagainst" Akra, and separated from it by another valley distinct from the Tyropoeon; and that the first of the three walls on the North commenced at Hippicus, and extending along the brow of Zion to the Xystus, ended

1) Josephus, B. J. V. 4. 2. The phrases *πρὸς δύσιν, πρὸς νότου, πρὸς ἀνατολήν*, in this passage, as applied to the wall, can only mean *towards* or *on the West, South, East*, etc. equivalent to *the western, southern, eastern wall*. This is shown both by the nature of the case, and by the similar phrase *τῇ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν στοᾷ τοῦ ἱεροῦ* in the same sentence, which no one ever thought of rendering otherwise than *the eastern portico of the temple*. Had this form of expression been always so understood, it would have saved great confusion among commentators, both as to the course of the wall and the position of Siloam. See Reland Palaest. p. 858, and his plan in Havercamp's Josephus, Vol. II. p. 327.

2) Ibid. V. 4. 4.

3) Ibid. V. 5. 8.

at the western portico connected with the temple. From other passages we learn, that the Xystus, so called, was an open place in the extreme part of the upper city, where the people sometimes assembled; and that a bridge connected it with the temple.[1] During the siege of the city also, we are told,[2] that Titus having become master of the temple, held a colloquy with the leaders of the Jews, who still had possession of the upper city. For this purpose he placed himself upon the western side of the exterior temple or court, where the bridge joined the temple to the upper city at the Xystus; and this bridge alone was interposed between him and the Jews with whom he spoke.—Further we are informed,[3] that on the western side of the temple-area were four gates; one leading over the valley to the royal palace (on Zion) adjacent to the Xystus,[4] probably by the bridge just mentioned; two conducting to the suburb (or new city) on the North; and the remaining one leading to the "other city," first by steps down into the intervening valley, and then by an ascent. By this "other city" can be meant only the lower city or Akra.—The hill Bezetha lay quite near on the North of the temple.[5]

During the siege by the Romans, Titus made all his approaches from the North; took first the external and second wall upon that part; and then assaulted the fortress Antonia and the temple, which he captured and destroyed.[6] All this time the Jews still held possession of the upper city; of which the northern wall ran in part along a precipice, so that the Romans could not assail it with their machines and towers.[7]

1) Joseph. B. J. II. 16. 3. VI. 6. 2. VI. 8. 1. Comp. Antiq. XIV. 4. 2.
2) Ibid. VI. 6. 2.
3) Joseph. Ant. XV. 11. 5.
4) Joseph. Ant. XX. 8. 11.
5) Joseph. B. J. V. 5. 8.
6) Ibid. V. 7. 2. V. 8. 1, 2. VI. 1. 7. VI. c. 4.
7) Ibid. B. J. V. 4. 4. VI. 8. 4.

To work upon the fears of the Jews and overcome their obstinacy, the Romans now set fire to Akra, Ophla, and other parts of the city, quite down to Siloam.[1]—Hence it follows, that the interior and most ancient of the three walls on the North, lay between Akra and the upper city; forming the defence of the latter on this part. It was, no doubt, the same wall which ran along the northern brow of Zion.

The main results to be derived from the preceding historical notices, so far as they are necessary to our present purpose, are chiefly the following. The hill Moriah, on which the temple stood, was on the eastern part of the city, overlooking the Valley of the Kidron.[2] Directly "overgainst" the temple on the West, was the hill Akra, with the lower city, to which a gate led from the western side of the temple-area. This hill was separated from the temple by a broad valley, which had been partly filled up by the Asmonaean princes; who also had lowered the point of Akra. West of the S. W. part of the temple-area, lay the northern portion of the upper city or Zion, with the Xystus, connected with the temple by a bridge, which led out from the western side of the court of the latter over the intervening valley. Zion therefore lay South of Akra; and was separated from it by the Tyropoeon, which extended also down to Siloam; and likewise by the wall which ran from Hippicus along its brow, on the North of the Xystus and the bridge, to the western portico of the temple. The tower of Hippicus therefore must be sought at the N. W. corner of Zion.—On those parts where the city had but a single wall, it was skirted by vallies impassable by a hostile force. But this single wall existed only on the western and southern sides of Zion, and on the

1) Joseph. B. J. VI. 6. 3. VI. 7. 2. 2) See also Antiq. XV. 11. 3.

East along by Siloam and Ophel and the temple; and here therefore were the deep vallies. The triple wall was towards the North and Northwest.

If now we compare these results with the description which has been given above of the hills and vallies connected with the modern city,—a description which, I am happy to say, was written before the preceding notices from Josephus were collected or compared,—I am unable to perceive any other than a striking and almost exact coincidence. True, the valley of the Tyropoeon, and that between Akra and Moriah, have been greatly filled up with the rubbish accumulated from the repeated desolations of nearly eighteen centuries. Yet they are still distinctly to be traced; the hills of Zion, Akra, Moriah, and Bezetha, are not to be mistaken; while the deep vallies of the Kidron and of Hinnom, and the Mount of Olives, are permanent natural features, too prominent and gigantic indeed to be forgotten, or to undergo any perceptible change. The only topographical notice of Josephus as to which I have doubts, is the remark quoted above, that "from without, the *two* hills of the city were enclosed by deep vallies."[1] If he here means the two particular hills of Zion and Akra, (as the insertion of the Greek article would seem to imply,) the language is not literally exact; but if, as is more probable, this is a mere form of expression intended to embrace the whole site of the city, then it presents no difficulty. Indeed, after having looked through the whole subject and studied the topography of modern Jerusalem upon the spot, with the volumes of Josephus in my hands, I am not aware of any particulars, which can excite a doubt as to the identity of the site of the ancient and modern cities. Certainly there is here no more

1) See above, p. 410.

room for question, than in the parallel cases of Athens and Rome.[1]

Thus far we have had regard to the general topography of the Holy City, and the correspondence of its present features with the descriptions of it in ancient times. We are now further to inquire, whether in particular parts of the city, there remain any such vestiges of antiquity, as may serve to add strength to our general conclusion.

V. AREA OF THE ANCIENT TEMPLE.

The account which Josephus has left us of the Jewish temple, with its courts and walls, as they existed in his day, is in some particulars confused, and in others undoubtedly exaggerated. He wrote at Rome, far from his native land, and long after the destruction of Jerusalem; nor is there any evidence or probability, that he had collected specific materials for his works in his own country, previously to that event. Hence, when he enters into minute descriptions, and professes to give the exact details and measurements of heights and magnitudes, there is every reason to distrust the accuracy of his assertions; except perhaps in things of public notoriety,—such, for example, as the distances between places situated on the great roads. But in cases where he describes in specific terms the length and breadth and height of buildings or the like,—measures which he himself had certainly never taken, and which were not likely to be publicly known,—we can regard these only as matters of estimate or conjecture, on the part of an author writing far remote from the objects described, and prone, from national vanity as well as from his peculiar position,

1) For the theories of Clarke and Olshausen respecting Zion and Akra, see Note XXV, at the end of the volume.

to amplify and embellish all those particulars, which might in any way contribute to the honour of his people, or to the glory of his subsequent protectors.

Josephus has left us two descriptions of the temple and its appendages; one in his Antiquities, where he narrates the reconstruction of the *Naos* or body of the temple by Herod the Great; and the other in his Jewish Wars, just before the account of its destruction by Titus.[1] The latter is the most minute and consistent; and I therefore follow it here, introducing only occasional circumstances from the other.

The temple, according to this account, stood upon a rocky eminence in the eastern part of the city, on which at first there was scarcely level space enough for the fane and altar; the sides being everywhere steep and precipitous. Solomon built first a wall around the summit; (probably in order to gain space for the body of the temple;) and built up also a wall on the East, filled in on the inside apparently with earth, on which he erected a portico or covered colonnade. The temple itself was thus left naked on three sides. In process of time, however, the whole enclosure was built up and filled in, quite to a level with the hill, which in this way was enlarged; a threefold wall being carried up from the bottom, and thus both the upper enclosure and the lower [parts of the] temple constructed.[2] Where these last were the lowest, they built up three hundred cubits; and in some places more.[3] Nor yet was the whole depth of the founda-

1) Antiq. XV. 11. 3, seq. B. J. V. 5. 1—6. Comp. Antiq. VIII. 3. 9.

2) The word τριχῆ, *threefold*, used here in connection with walls built up from the bottom of the hill, cannot well refer to any thing else than the *three walls* built up on the *three sides* of the hill, which are said to have been left open by Solomon. If this form of expression is not very exact, neither is that which is indicated by κύκλῳ (circle) in the same connection; for there is abundant evidence, that the enclosure was not a circle, but a quadrangle.

3) So I must venture to understand the τούτου τὸ ταπεινότατον of the original, in connection with the τὸ κάτω ἱερόν before it; mean-

tions visible; for to a great extent they filled in the vallies with earth, desiring to level off the abrupt places of the city. In the construction of this work, they used stones of the size of forty cubits. These stones, (according to the other account,) were bound together with lead and iron into a compact mass, immoveable for all time. The enclosure thus constructed was a quadrangle, measuring one stadium on each side, or four stadia in circumference. In another place the circumference, including the fortress Antonia, is given at six stadia.[1]

The interior of this enclosure was surrounded by porticos or covered colonnades along the walls; and the open part was laid or paved with variegated stones.[2] This was a great place of resort for Jews and strangers; and became at length also a place of trade and business.[3] It is sometimes called by Christian writers the Court of the Gentiles.[4]—Near the middle of this court, an ornamented wall or balustrade of stone, three cubits high, formed the boundary of a smaller enclosure; which neither foreigners nor the unclean might pass. Within this an inner wall, forty cubits high from its foundation, surrounded the second or inner court; but it was encompassed on the outside by fourteen steps, leading up to a level area around it of ten cubits wide; from which again five other steps led up to the interior. This wall on the inside was twenty cubits high. The principal gate of this second court was on the East; and there were also three upon the northern side, and three upon the South. To these were afterwards

ing, not the part where the top of these walls was lowest, but *the part where the foundations, or the ground on which they stood, was lowest.* Taken in this sense, the expression is not unnatural; though still greatly exaggerated. In the other sense, it is perfectly unintelligible.

1) Joseph. B. J. V. 5. 2.
2) Ibid. V. 5. 2.
3) Matt. xxi. 12. Luke xix. 45.
4) Lightfoot Opera, Tom. I. pp. 415, 590.

added three others for the women, one upon the North, South and East. On the West there was no gate.[1]

Within this second court, was still the third or most sacred enclosure, which none but the priests might enter; consisting of the *Naos* or temple itself, and the small court before it, where stood the altar. To this there was an ascent from the second court by twelve steps.[2] It was this *Naos*, or the body of the temple alone, which was rebuilt by Herod; who also built over again some of the magnificent porticos around the area. But no mention is made of his having had any thing to do with the massive walls of the exterior enclosure.[3] We have already seen, that on the West side of this great outer court, four gates led out into the city; the southernmost of which opened upon the bridge connecting the area of the temple with the Xystus on Mount Zion. Josephus relates also, that there was a gate in the middle of the southern side of the same enclosure.[4]

Further than this, our present object does not require us to enter into a description of the temple or its appurtenances.

If now, with these accounts before us, we turn our eyes upon the present similar area of the grand mosk of Omar, it would seem to be hardly a matter of question, that the latter occupies in part or in whole the same general location. But how far there exist traces which may serve to mark a connection between the ancient and modern precincts, or perhaps establish their identity, is a point which, so far as I know, has

1) Antiq. XV. 11. 5. B. J. V. 5. 2.

2) Antiq. XV. 11. 5, ult. B. J. V. 5. 4.

3) Antiq. XV. 11. 3. B. J. I. 21. 1. When Josephus here says that Herod enlarged the area around the temple to double its former size, he probably refers to the adjacent fortress Antonia, as mentioned above at the close of the preceding paragraph.

4) See above, pp. 412, 413. Jos. Ant. XV. 11. 5.

never been discussed. It is to this point mainly, that our inquiries will now be directed.

The area of the great mosk is an elevated plateau or terrace, nearly in the form of a parallelogram, supported by and within massive walls built up from the vallies or lower ground on all sides; the external height varying of course in various parts according to the nature of the ground, but being in general greatest towards the South. The area or court within these walls is level; exhibiting on the North of the mosk, as we have seen, and probably around the same, the surface of the native rock levelled off by art.[1] The general construction therefore of this area, does not differ from that of the ancient temple.

The length of this enclosure on the East side, measured externally along the wall, is 1,528 English feet or nearly 510 yards; the breadth at the S. end is 955 feet or about 318 yards.[2] Neither the western side nor the northern end is accessible externally; yet the latter may be measured approximately along the parallel street. Its length is thus found to be not far from 1,060 feet, or perhaps 350 yards; the breadth of the area being here some yards greater than on the South. The direction of the eastern side, taken from the S. E. corner, is due North by compass; and that of the southern side, due West. The course of the western wall at its S. end is likewise due North. Beyond the area towards the North, the eastern wall of the city deviates slightly from the magnetic meridian towards the East.—From these measurements it is apparent, that the extent of the present area is much greater than that assigned by Josephus to the ancient one.

1) See above, p. 361.

2) Ali Bey gives the interior length of the enclosure at 1,369 Paris feet; and the interior breadth at 845 Paris feet. Travels II. p. 215.

The S. E. corner of the enclosure stands directly on the very brink of the steep descent, and impends over the Valley of Jehoshaphat; which, as we have seen, is at this point about 130 feet deep; while just North the ground rises some 20 feet more. The height of the wall at this angle we judged to be at least 60 English feet.[1] Further North as the ground ascends, the wall is less elevated above it. The brow of the valley also advances a little, leaving a narrow strip of level ground along the wall, which is occupied by the Muslim cemetery already mentioned.[2] Towards the Gate of St. Stephen, this level brow widens to about 100 feet, and continues of this breadth along the city-wall northwards. The Golden Gate on this side is not opposite the middle of the area; but at some distance further North.

On the northern side, the area is skirted for nearly half its breadth by the deep pool or trench usually called Bethesda, and vaults connected with it. At the N. E. corner is a place of entrance, and a way leading to it from St. Stephen's Gate along the city-wall. Further West and near the middle, are two other entrances from the *Via dolorosa*. At the N. W. corner stands what was formerly the governor's house, now converted into a barrack, and probably occupying in part the site of the ancient fortress Antonia. From the roof of this building is obtained a commanding view of the interior and the edifices of the court.[3]

The western wall is mostly hidden by the houses of the city, except near its southern end. There are

1) There are here fifteen courses of very large stones, having an average thickness of more than three feet. Above these to the top is at least fifteen feet more.—The wall, I since learn, was measured at this point by Mr. Catherwood. The actual height is sixty feet to the level of the area within, and sixteen feet more to the top of the battlements; in all 76 feet.

2) See above, p. 343.

3) See above, p. 361.

on this side four entrances, to which streets lead down from the city. These streets, after crossing the hollow or valley which here runs parallel to the wall, lead up an ascent to the places of entrance; some of which are reached by steps. Near the N. W. corner, this ascent is of course smaller than it is further South. Near the S. W. corner, the wall is again exposed, and is not less than about sixty feet in height.

The wall on the South is the highest of all; for here the ground appears originally to have sloped down more rapidly from the top of Moriah than in any other part. This wall was apparently built, not on the brow of a valley, but on the side of a declivity, which descended steeply for a time, and then ran off in a more gradual slope, forming the ridge of Ophel. Here we judged the wall of the enclosure to be in general about sixty feet in height.[1] At the distance of 290 feet S. of this wall, the city-wall runs for a time parallel to it; then, turning at a right angle, the city-wall rises by a considerable ascent, and joins the high wall of the area, in the manner already described, at a point 325 feet distant from the S. W. corner. This leaves here a tolerably level plat of ground between the two walls, nearly square, said to belong to the mosk el-Aksa. It was now a ploughed field.[2] Here however the earth has evidently been filled in, in order to render the plat level; for the city-wall on the South, which within is very low, measures on the outside fifty feet in height. This gives 110 feet for the proximate elevation of the southern wall of the area of the mosk above the exterior base of the parallel city-wall.—On this side, viewed externally, there

1) There are here eight courses of stones having an average thickness of at least 3 feet; and above these are 24 smaller courses, each apparently from 1 foot to 1½ feet thick.

2) See above, p. 351.

would seem never to have been a place of entrance or access to the court above. Yet Josephus makes mention here of a gate in the middle of the southern side of the area; and we shall hereafter see, that an ancient subterranean gateway still exists under the mosk el-Aksa, with a passage to it from above, but walled up on the outside.[1]

Allusion has already been made to the immense size of the stones, which compose in part the external walls of the enclosure of the mosk.[2] The upper part of these walls is obviously of modern origin; but to the most casual observer it cannot be less obvious, that these huge blocks which appear only in portions of the lower part, are to be referred to an earlier date.[3] The appearance of the walls in almost every part, seems to indicate that they have been built up on ancient foundations; as if an ancient and far more massive wall had been thrown down, and in later times a new one erected upon its remains. Hence the line between these lower antique portions and the modern ones above them, is very irregular; though it is also very distinct. The former, in some parts, are much higher than in others; and occasionally the breaches in them are filled out with later patch-work. Sometimes too the whole wall is modern.

We first noticed these large stones at the S. E. corner of the enclosure; where perhaps they are as conspicuous, and form as great a portion of the wall, as in any part. Here are several courses, both on the East and South sides, alternating with each other, in which the stones measure from 17 to 19 feet in length, by 3 or 4 feet in height; while one block at the corner is $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick. Here also, on the East side, the

1) Joseph. Antiq. XV. 11. 5.
2) See above, pp. 343, 351.
3) Such has been the conviction of many travellers, judging merely from the aspect of the stones. See Raumer's Palästina, p. 290. Ed. 2.

lower part is patched in spots. Further to the North, all is new until towards the N. E. corner of the area, where the ancient stones again appear; one of them measuring 24 feet in length, by 3 feet in height and 6 feet in breadth.—On the northern and western sides, the walls are less accessible, until we reach the Jewish place of wailing, considerably S. of the middle of the latter. Here the stones are of the same dimensions, and the wall of the same character, as in the parts already described.[1]—At the S. W. corner, huge blocks become again conspicuous for some distance on each side, and of a still greater size. The corner stone on the West side now next above the surface of the ground, measures 30 feet 10 inches in length by 6½ feet broad; and several others vary from 20½ to 24½ feet long, by 5 feet in thickness.

It is not however the great size of these stones alone which arrests the attention of the beholder; but the manner in which they are hewn, gives them also a peculiar character. In common parlance they are said to be *bevelled;* which here means, that after the whole face has first been hewn and squared, a narrow strip along the edges is cut down a quarter or half an inch lower than the rest of the surface. When these bevelled stones are laid up in a wall, the face of it of course exhibits lines or grooves formed by these depressed edges at their junction, marking more distinctly the elevation of the different courses, as well as the length of the stones of which they are composed. The face of the wall has then the appearance of many pannels. The smaller stones in other parts of the

1) I learn from Mr. Catherwood, who examined and measured the area and buildings of the Haram, both within and without, very minutely in 1833, that the western wall as seen from the courts in the rear of the houses north of the Jews' place of wailing, consists of large ancient stones of the same character as those above described, to the height of thirty feet or more.

walls are frequently bevelled in like manner; except that in these, only the bevel or strip along the edge is cut smooth, while the remainder of the surface is merely broken off or rough-hewn. In the upper parts of the wall, which are obviously the most modern, the stones are small and are not bevelled.

At the first view of these walls, I was led to the persuasion, that the lower portions had belonged to the ancient temple; and every subsequent visit only served to strengthen this conviction. The size of the stones and the heterogeneous character of the walls, render it a matter beyond all doubt, that the former were never laid in their present places by the Muhammedans; and the peculiar form in which they are hewn, does not properly belong, so far as I know, either to Saracenic or to Roman architecture.[1] Indeed, every thing seems to point to a Jewish origin; and a discovery which we made in the course of our examination, reduces this hypothesis to an absolute certainty.

I have already related in the preceding section, that during our first visit to the S. W. corner of the area of the mosk, we observed several of the large stones jutting out from the western wall, which at first sight seemed to be the effect of a bursting of the wall from some mighty shock or earthquake.[2] We paid little regard to this at the moment, our attention being engrossed by other objects; but on mentioning the fact not long after in a circle of our friends, we found that they also had noticed it; and the remark was incidentally dropped, that the stones had the ap-

1) Something of a similar kind is indeed found in the later Roman architecture, under the later emperors. But the edges of the stones are there usually merely slanted off, or else the surface is left rough; giving to the whole a different and more *rustic* character. See Hirt's Baukunst nach den Grundsätzen der Alten, Berl. 1809. fol. p. 152, und Pl. XXXI.

2) See above, p. 351.

pearance of having once belonged to a large arch. At this remark a train of thought flashed upon my mind, which I hardly dared to follow out, until I had again repaired to the spot, in order to satisfy myself with my own eyes, as to the truth or falsehood of the suggestion. I found it even so! The courses of these immense stones, which seemed at first to have sprung out from their places in the wall in consequence of some enormous violence, occupy nevertheless their original position; their external surface is hewn to a regular curve; and being fitted one upon another, they form the commencement or foot of an immense arch, which once sprung out from this western wall in a direction towards Mount Zion, across the Valley of the Tyropoeon. This arch could only have belonged to the Bridge, which according to Josephus led from this part of the temple to the Xystus on Zion; and it proves incontestably the antiquity of that portion of the wall from which it springs.

The traces of this arch are too distinct and definite to be mistaken. Its southern side is thirty-nine English feet distant from the S. W. corner of the area, and the arch itself measures fifty-one feet along the wall. *Three* courses of its stones still remain; of which one is five feet four inches thick, and the others not much less. One of the stones is $20\frac{1}{2}$ feet long; another $24\frac{1}{2}$ feet; and the rest in like proportion. The part of the curve or arc, which remains, is of course but a fragment; but of this fragment the chord measures twelve feet six inches; the sine eleven feet ten inches; and the cosine three feet ten inches.—The distance from this point across the valley to the precipitous natural rock of Zion, we measured as exactly as the intervening field of prickly-pear would permit; and found it to be 350 feet or about 116 yards. This gives the proximate length of the ancient bridge. We sought carefully

along the brow of Zion for traces of its western termination; but without success. That quarter is now covered with mean houses and filth; and an examination can be carried on only in the midst of disgusting sights and smells.

The existence of these remains of the ancient bridge, seems to remove all doubt as to the identity of this part of the enclosure of the mosk with that of the ancient temple. How they can have remained for so many ages unseen or unnoticed by any writer or traveller, is a problem, which I would not undertake fully to solve. One cause has probably been the general oblivion, or want of knowledge, that any such bridge ever existed. It is mentioned by no writer but Josephus; and even by him only incidentally, though in five different places.[1] The bridge was doubtless broken down in the general destruction of the city; and was in later ages forgotten by the Christian population, among whom the writings of Josephus were little known. For a like reason, we may suppose its remains to have escaped the notice of the crusaders and the pilgrims of the following centuries. Another cause which has operated in the case of later travellers, is probably the fact, that the spot is approached only through narrow and crooked lanes, in a part of the city whither their monastic guides did not care to accompany them; and which they themselves could not well, nor perhaps safely, explore alone. Or if any have penetrated to the place, and perhaps noticed these large stones springing from the wall, they have probably (as I did at first) regarded their appearance

1) Antiq. XIV. 4. 2. B. J. I. 7. 2. II. 16. 3. VI. 6. 2. VI. 8. 1.— There is no mention of the time when, nor of the person by whom, the bridge was built. As however it existed in the time of Pompey about 63 B. C. (Antiq. l. c.) it was probably ancient. At any rate it could not have been the work of Herod.

as accidental; and have passed on without further examination.[1]

Here then we have indisputable remains of Jewish antiquity, consisting of an important portion of the western wall of the ancient temple-area. They are probably to be referred to a period long antecedent to the days of Herod; for the labours of this splendour-loving tyrant appear to have been confined to the body of the temple and the porticos around the court.[2] The magnitude of the stones also, and the workmanship as compared with other remaining monuments of Herod, seem to point to an earlier origin. In the accounts we have of the destruction of the temple by the Chaldeans, and its rebuilding by Zerubbabel under Darius, no mention is made of these exterior walls. The former temple was destroyed by fire, which would not affect these foundations; nor is it probable that a feeble colony of returning exiles, could have accomplished works like these.[3] There seems therefore little room for hesitation in referring them back to the days of Solomon, or rather of his successors; who, according to Josephus, built up here immense walls, "immoveable for all time."[4] Ages upon ages have since rolled away; yet these foundations still endure, and are immoveable as at the beginning. Nor is there aught in the present physical condition

1) Maundrell must have passed near this spot, when he saw the large vaults with columns which he describes as running in on the S. side of Moriah. Pococke was also apparently here, and speaks of the large stones; Vol. II. p. 15. fol.—Since the above was written, I have been informed by both Messrs Bonomi and Catherwood, the well known artists, that they likewise remarked these large stones in 1833, and recognised in them the beginning of an immense arch. They regarded them too as probably among the most ancient remains in or around Jerusalem; but had no suspicion of their historical import.

2) See above, p. 418.

3) Ezra c. i. c. iii. 8 seq. c. vi. Joseph. Antiq. X. 8. 5. XI. 3. 7. XI. 4. 2. Here also it is the ναός, not the ἱερόν, which was destroyed and afterwards rebuilt by Zerubbabel.

4) Antiq. XV. 11. 3, ἀκινήτους τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ. B. J. V. 5. 1.

of these remains, to prevent them from continuing as long as the world shall last. It was the temple of the living God; and, like the everlasting hills on which it stood, its foundations were laid "for all time."

Thus then we have here the western wall of the ancient temple-area; on which is built up the same wall of the modern enclosure, though with far inferior materials and workmanship. The ancient southern wall is at the same time determined in like manner; for at the S. W. corner the lower stones towards the South have precisely the same character as those on the West; they are laid in alternate courses with the latter; and the whole corner is evidently one and the same original substruction. Proceeding to the S. E. corner, we find its character to be precisely similar; the same immense stones as already described,[1] both towards the East and South, on the brink of the Valley of Jehoshaphat; and the line of the southern wall at this point corresponding with that at the S. W. corner. We have, then, the two extremities of the ancient southern wall; which, as Josephus informs us, extended from the eastern to the western valley, and could not be prolonged further.[2] Thus we are led irresistibly to the conclusion, that the area of the Jewish temple was identical on its western, eastern, and southern sides, with the present enclosure of the Haram.

The specifications of Josephus in respect to the immense height of these ancient walls and of the porticos which rose above them, have occasioned great difficulty aud perplexity to commentators; partly because of the undoubted exaggerations of the writer; and partly from want of an acquaintance with the nature of the ground. At the S. W. corner, there can be little doubt that the ground has been raised very

1) See above, p. 422. 2) Antiq. XV. 11. 5.

considerably; and not improbably future excavations may yet lay bare stones of a larger size than any which are now visible. But at the S. E. corner, and along the eastern and southern sides in general, there is little appearance of any considerable accumulation of earth or rubbish.

Upon the southern part of the enclosure internally, according to Josephus, "a broad portico ran along the wall, supported by four rows of columns, which divided it into three parts, thus forming a triple colonnade or portico. Of these the two external parts were each thirty feet wide, and the middle one forty-five feet. The height of the two external porticos was more than fifty feet, while that of the middle one was double, or more than a hundred feet. The length was a stadium, extending from valley to valley. Such was the elevation of the middle portico above the adjacent valley, that if from its roof one attempted to look down into the gulf below, his eyes became dark and dizzy before they could penetrate to the immense depth."[1] The valley thus meant, can well be no other than that of the Kidron, which here actually bends S. W. around the corner, so that the eastern end of this high southern portico impended over it. The depth of the valley at this point, as we have seen, is about one hundred and fifty feet; which with the elevation of the wall and portico gives a total height of about 310 feet above the bottom of the valley,—an elevation sufficient to excuse the somewhat hyperbolical language of the Jewish historian.[2] The portico along

1) Joseph. Antiq. XV. 11. 5.

2) J. D. Michaelis understood this language as referring to the elevation of the wall and portico above a valley along the South side of the temple-area; see his *Zerstreute Kleine Schriften*, p. 394, seq. But Josephus here and elsewhere speaks only of vallies on the East and West sides. See also Niebuhr's Remarks on this hypothesis of Michaelis; Reisebeschr. Bd. III. Anhang, p. 140; printed also in Olshausen's Topographie des alten Jerus. p. 70, seq.

the eastern wall was rebuilt by Agrippa, and is described by Josephus in like manner as rising above the valley to the enormous height of 400 cubits, or more than 500 feet; which doubtless is merely an exaggerated estimate.[1] At the N. E. corner too, the same portico was near the valley of the Kidron; which is said to have had here "a fearful depth."[2]

A greater difficulty arises, when we undertake to reconcile the length and breadth of the temple-area, as it now appears, with the accounts which have come down to us from antiquity. We have seen that the length of the present southern wall, which is identical with the ancient one, is 955 English feet, or about 318 yards.[3] But both Josephus and the Talmud describe the upper area as a square, of which each of the sides measured, according to the former one stadium, and according to the latter 500 cubits.[4] In the uncertainty which exists as to the length of the Jewish cubit, these two specifications throw little light upon each other. But the length of a stadium of 600 Greek feet, which is usually regarded as equal to the tenth part of a geographical mile or a fraction less than 204 yards,[5] makes the southern side of the enclosure to be only two thirds as long as we now find it to be by actual measurement; presenting a difference of 114 yards. This may in part be accounted for, by supposing the ancient specifications to refer only to the interior open space surrounded by the broad porticos within the walls; while our measurements were taken along the outside of the walls. But even this supposition cannot well cover the whole difference; and we must here again admit, that Josephus probably had no definite measurements, but assumed one stadium as a

1) Antiq. XX. 9. 7. See above on Josephus, p. 415.
2) B. J. VI. 3. 2.
3) See above, p. 419.
4) Joseph. Antiq. XV. 11. 3. Lightfoot Opera I. p. 554.
5) The more exact specification is 604 Olympic stadia to a degree.

convenient estimate.—If, on the other hand, the Jewish cubit may be taken at $1\frac{3}{4}$ feet, (as is often done,) then the Rabbinic specification of 500 cubits, or 875 feet, if reckoned only from portico to portico, would not vary very materially from the results of our measurement.

According to both Josephus and the Talmud, the area of the temple was a square; the length and the breadth being equal. But we now find the length to be 1,528 feet, while the breadth is only 955 feet; the former exceeding the latter by 573 feet or more than one half. Although in this case also, we are not bound to attribute any special exactness to these writers; yet the discrepancy is here too great to be accounted for in any other way, than by supposing that the present enclosure has been enlarged towards the North. This has not improbably been done by including within its walls the area of the ancient fortress Antonia.

This fortress, according to Josephus, stood on the North side of the area of the temple.[1] It was a quadrangle, erected first by the Maccabees under the name of Baris; and then rebuilt by the first Herod with great strength and splendour. A more particular description[2] places it upon a rock or hill at the N. W. corner of the temple-area, fifty cubits high; above which its walls rose to the height of forty cubits. Within, it had all the extent and appearance of a palace; being divided into apartments of every kind, with galleries and baths, and also broad halls or barracks for soldiers; so that, as having every thing necessary within itself, it seemed a city, while in its magnificence it was a palace. At each of the four corners was a tower; three of these were fifty cubits

1) Ant. XV.11.4, *κατὰ τὴν βόρειον πλευράν*. See B.J.I.5.4. I.21.1.

2) Joseph. B. J. V. 5. 8.

high; while the fourth, at the S. E. corner, was seventy cubits high, and overlooked the whole temple with its courts. The fortress communicated with the northern and western porticos of the temple-area; and had flights of stairs descending into both; by which the garrison could at any time enter the court of the temple and prevent tumults.[1] The fortress was separated from the hill Bezetha, on the North, by a deep artificial trench, lest it should be approachable from that hill; and the depth of the trench added greatly to the elevation of the towers.[2]

The extent of the fortress, or the area covered by it, is nowhere specified; except where the same writer says that the circumference of the temple, including Antonia, was six stadia.[3] Now as we are elsewhere told that the temple-area by itself was a square of one stadium on each side;[4] it follows, that the length of each side of the fortress must also have been one stadium, and its area equal to that of the temple. And although this again is probably a mere estimate on the part of the writer, yet the conclusion would seem to be a fair one, that the area covered by Antonia was probably much greater than has usually been supposed.

In view of all these circumstances I venture to propose the following conjecture; which indeed is supported by various facts; while it is, so far as I know, contradicted by none. In looking at the nature of the ground, it seems probable that the rock on which the fortress stood, was a prolongation of the hill Bezetha towards the South, which was cut through and

1) It was this "castle" into which Paul was carried by the soldiers from the temple; and from these stairs he addressed the people collected in the adjacent court; Acts xxi. 31—40. In the New Testament the fortress is called ἡ παρεμβολή, Acts xxi. 34, 37.

2) Joseph. B. J. V. 4. 2.

3) Ibid. V. 5. 2.

4) Antiq. XV. 11. 3.

separated from that hill by the trench above mentioned.[1] This rock, or ridge, must have lain partly at least within the present enclosure, at its N. W. corner; for between the enclosure and the precipitous part of Bezetha, there now intervenes only a house or barrack and the narrow street, presenting a space wholly insufficient for the fortress and its deep trench. On this rock or ridge, I conjecture, lay the main fortress or "acropolis"[2] of Antonia; while the remaining part, comprising the halls and palace-like apartments and barracks, extended probably along the northern wall of the temple quite to its N. E. corner, adjacent to the brow of the valley of the Kidron. On the North it was doubtless protected throughout by the trench; and of this trench the greater part still remains, as I apprehend, in the deep reservoir commonly called the Pool of Bethesda.

The supposition therefore is, that the fortress Antonia occupied the whole breadth of the northern part of the present enclosure; between the ancient northern wall and the present Bethesda. This would make its length from W. to E. the same as that of the area of the temple; while its breadth from N. to S. might have been nearly two thirds as great, or some 600 feet, and yet leave to the temple-area its square form. The peculiar character and great depth of the Pool Bethesda, so called, have been a stone of stumbling to many travellers; but by thus bringing it into connection with the fortress, its peculiarities are at once accounted for. Indeed, the fortress and the trench serve to illustrate and mark the limits of each other; and it is on this ground chiefly, that I venture to extend the fortress thus far towards the East.

1) The rock on which the fortress stood, could not have been further West than the western line of the temple-area; for here ran and runs the valley, which separated Bezetha and Moriah from Akra.

2) Antiq. XV. 11. 4.

This reservoir lies along the outside of the present northern wall of the enclosure; of which wall its southern side may be said to form a part. Its eastern end is near the wall of the city; so near indeed, that only a narrow way passes between them leading from St. Stephen's Gate to the mosk. The pool measures 360 English feet in length, 130 feet in breadth, and 75 feet in depth to the bottom, besides the rubbish which has been accumulating in it for ages. It was once evidently used as a reservoir; for the sides internally have been cased over with small stones, and these again covered with plaster; but the workmanship of these additions is coarse, and bears no special marks of antiquity. The western end is built up like the rest, except at the S. W. corner; where two lofty arched vaults extend in westward side by side under the houses which now cover that part. The southernmost of these arches is 12 feet in breadth and the other 19 feet; they are both filled up with earth and rubbish, and a vast quantity of the same lies before them. Yet I was able to measure 100 feet within the northern one, and it seemed to extend much further. This gives to the whole work a length of at least 460 feet, equal to nearly one half the whole breadth of the enclosure of the mosk; and how much more, we do not know. It would seem as if the deep reservoir formerly extended further westward in this part; and that these vaults were built up in and over it to support the buildings above. I hold it probable, that this excavation was anciently carried quite through the ridge of Bezetha along the northern side of Antonia to its N. W. corner; thus forming the deep trench which separated the fortress from the adjacent hill. This part was naturally filled up by the Romans under Titus, when they destroyed Antonia, and built up their approaches in this quarter against the temple.

Although the fortress, as we have seen, was connected with the porticos at the N. W. corner of the temple-area; yet these entrances might be closed; and a strong wall would seem to have existed between the temple and the fortress. After Titus was in full possession of Antonia, he had yet to make regular approaches with mounds against this wall and its portico, which was still defended by the Jews. For seven days the Romans were employed in levelling the very foundations of Antonia, in order to form a broad place by which to approach the temple-walls. They then built up four mounds against these walls; one over-against the N. W. corner of the inner temple (which would seem to have been near); another opposite the northern gallery between the two gates; a third against the western portico of the exterior temple; and the fourth against the outside of the northern portico.[1] This description is not very clear; but it serves to show, that the possession of Antonia did not make the Romans masters of the temple.[2] It seems further, that after thus labouring for seven days to subvert the foundations of Antonia, the Romans still did not destroy the whole fortress; for during the subsequent siege and assaults upon the temple, Titus continued to have his head-quarters in Antonia, and beheld the daily conflicts, probably from one of its towers.[3] The grand attack was evidently made upon the N. W. part of the area; and here it would seem, the Romans had levelled the "acropolis" and its rock to the ground; filled up the deep trench; and formed a broad approach on which they could erect their works; while further East the halls and apartments, and probably

1) Joseph. B. J. VI. 2. 7.

2) Pompey found also a strong wall and towers on the N. of the temple, before the time of Herod; as also a deep trench, which he filled up. Joseph. Antiq. XIV. 4. 2. B. J. I. 7. 3.

3) Joseph. B. J. VI. 2. 5. VI. 4. 4, 5.

the S. E. tower of Antonia, were left as a shelter for the troops and the head-quarters of their commander. It was not until after many days, when the various porticos had been successively carried with fire and sword, that an assault was made upon the temple or *Naos* itself; and this at last yielded only to the horrible conflagration by which it was destroyed.[1]

In this way, as it appears to me, we may clearly account for all the facts and circumstances which have come down to us respecting the fortress Antonia and its connection with the ancient temple. At the same time, we remove the difficulty arising from the greater length of the modern enclosure, as compared with the ancient one; and obtain also a satisfactory explanation, as to the original purpose of the deep and otherwise inexplicable excavation now called Bethesda.[2]

A few remarks upon the subsequent history of this area and the buildings erected upon it, may conclude this part of our subject.

It is related of our Saviour near the close of his life, that as he once went out of the temple, his disciples came to him, "to show him the buildings of the temple. And Jesus said unto them, See ye not all these things? Verily I say unto you, There shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down."[3] This language was spoken of the "buildings of the temple," the splendid fane itself and its magnificent porticos; and in this sense the prophecy has been terribly fulfilled, even to the utmost letter. Or, if we give to the words a wider sense, and include the outer works of the temple and even the whole city, still the spirit of the prophecy has received its full and

1) Joseph. B. J. VI. 2. 8, 10. VI. 3. 1—3. VI. 4. 2—5.

2) Pococke also regarded the reservoir as the remains of an ancient fosse; Descr. of the East, II. p. 15. fol.

3) Matt. xxiv. 1, 2. So Mark xiii. 1, 2, which is more explicit.

fearful accomplishment; for the few substructions which remain, serve only to show where once the temple and the city stood. In the case of the temple, the remaining substructions of its exterior walls are easily accounted for; even on the supposition that the Romans were bent upon their utter subversion. The conquerors doubtless commenced the work of destruction by casting down the stones outwards from above; these of course accumulated at the foot of the walls; covered the lower parts; and thus naturally protected them from further demolition.

For half a century after the destruction of Jerusalem, there is no mention of the temple. The Jews had again tried the fortune of war under Trajan and Adrian; they had been defeated, and Jerusalem again taken by the latter emperor; when in A. D. 136 he consecrated here a new city, called after one of his own names, Ælia.[1] At the same time he erected a temple of Jupiter on the site of the Jewish temple;[2] and decorated it with two statues of himself, one of which at least was equestrian.[3] It seems probable that the walls of the area were at this time also rebuilt, at least in part; for the architecture of the Golden Gateway in the eastern wall seems to be of this era. This is a massive structure forming a double gateway, projecting from the wall into the area of the Haram, its floor being several feet below the level of the area. The whole is now used as a Muslim place of prayer. The external front and arches of this gateway, which we saw, are evidently of Roman origin; and of the interior Mr. Bonomi remarks, "that a central row of noble Corinthian columns, and a groined

1) See Münter's Jüd. Krieg unter Trajan und Hadrian, 1821, p. 87, etc. See further in Sect. VIII.

2) Dio Cass. LXIX. 12, καὶ ἐς τὸν τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τόπον, ναον τῷ Διῒ ἕτερον ἀντεγείραντος.

3) Itiner. Hieros.—Jerome, as quoted on the next page, note 3.

roof, had once formed a stately portico of Roman workmanship."[1] This gate is situated nearly 300 feet North of the middle of the present enclosure. In erecting these walls, the former area of the fortress Antonia might have been included, quite to the deep fosse, as it exists at present;[2] while perhaps a portion of the southern part of the ancient area was left out. Of the demolition of Adrian's temple we have no account. The *Itiner. Hieros.* speaks of the statues as still standing in the days of Constantine, A. D. 333, and seems also to imply that other lofty buildings existed there. Nor does this emperor nor his mother Helena appear to have included this enclosure in their projects of embellishment; for in the days of Jerome, about the close of the same century, the equestrian statue of Adrian yet stood upon the supposed place of the Holy of Holies.[3] Before this time, about A. D. 362, had occurred the abortive attempt of the Jews, under Julian, to rebuild their temple.[4]

Not long before the middle of the sixth century, the emperor Justinian erected a magnificent church in Jerusalem, in honour of the Virgin. The description which the historian Procopius gives of the site and construction of this edifice, is not very clear; and borders somewhat on the fabulous.[5] He represents it as placed upon the loftiest hill of the city, where there was not space enough to allow of the prescribed

1) So Mr. Bonomi orally, and in Hogg's Visit to Alexandria, etc. II. p. 283. Mr. Catherwood confirms this description. A view of the interior of this gateway by the latter, is found in Finden's Illustrations of the Bible.

2) Pococke speaks also of large hewn stones and an entablature in good taste at the N. E. entrance, near the wall; and supposes this entrance may have been made by Adrian. Vol. II. p. 15. fol.

3) Hieron. Comm. in Esaiam ii. 8, "Ubi quondam erat templum et religio Dei, ibi Hadriani statua et Jovis idolum collocatum est." Comm. in Matt. xxi. 15, "de Hadriani equestri statua, quae in ipso Sancto Sanctorum loco usque in praesentem diem stetit."

4) Socrates Hist. Ecc. III. 20. Sozom. V. 22. Ammian. Marcell. XXIII. 1.

5) Procop. de Aedificiis Justiniani, V. 6.

dimensions, so that they were obliged to lay the foundation on the S. E. side at the bottom of the hill, and build up a wall with arched vaults in order to support that part of the building. There is nothing in the subsequent history nor in the modern topography of Jerusalem, which in the least degree corresponds to this description, except the present mosk el-Aksa at the southern extremity of the enclosure of the Haram. This stands adjacent to the southern wall, where, as we have seen, the latter is in itself about 60 feet high, or 100 feet above the foundation of the parallel city-wall; indicating here a steep declivity towards the South.[1] The present structure is about 280 feet in length from N. to S. by 190 feet broad.[2] This mosk is universally regarded by Oriental Christians, and also by the Frank Catholics, as an ancient Christian church, once dedicated to the Virgin; and the latter now give it the name of the Church of the Presentation.[3] The earlier travellers speak of it also as a church; and of late years Richardson and also Bonomi and Catherwood, all of whom entered and examined it, describe it in the same manner.[4] Mr. Bonomi, whose judgment as an artist cannot well be drawn in question, remarks expressly, that "the structure is similar in appearance to those raised in the early ages of Christianity."[5] If now we may suppose, that the

1) See above, p. 421.

2) According to the measurements and manuscript plan of Mr. Catherwood.

3) I have not been able to trace this name further back than to Quaresmius, Vol. II. p. 77, seq. It is likewise sometimes called the Church of the Purification; which name Quaresmius rejects.

4) Breydenbach and F. Fabri in A. D. 1483; Reissbuch des heil. Landes, pp. 111, 251. Baumgarten in A. D. 1507, p. 86. Richardson's Travels, II. p. 304. Lond. 1822. See Bonomi's account in Hogg's Visit to Alexandria, Jerusalem, etc. Lond. 1835. Vol. II. p. 280.

5) Mr. Bonomi in a subsequent personal interview remarked to me, that the interior of el-Aksa has entirely the appearance of an ancient Basilica. The same has since been confirmed to me by Mr. Catherwood; who has plans and measurements of the whole edifice of el-Aksa, as well as of the adjacent buildings.

enclosure of Adrian's temple did not include the whole of the southern part of the ancient temple-area;[1] perhaps because the southern wall of the latter, having been thrown down by the Romans, had never again been built up; then the site and architecture and other circumstances of this mosk or ancient church, correspond very nearly to the above description of the church erected by Justinian. Indeed, there is no other site nor edifice which at all accords with this description; nor any other description or historical notice which applies to this edifice.[2]

A century later, in A. D. 636, the followers of Muhammed, under Omar, took possession of the Holy City; and the Khalif determined to erect a mosk upon the site of the ancient Jewish temple. Inquiring of the patriarch Sophronius and others after the spot, he was led after some evasion to a large church, to the area of which there was an ascent by a flight of steps. Near this, according to William of Tyre, he was shown some vestiges of ancient works; or according to Arabian writers, he here found or was led to the celebrated rock, es-Sŭkhrah, then covered over with filth in scorn of the Jews.[3] This rock he himself aided to cleanse; and erected over it a mosk, which is usually regarded as that at present existing.[4] But the Arabian historians relate, that the Khalif Abd el-Melek caused

1) See above, pp. 437, 438. Such an hypothesis may perhaps have further a slight support in the fact, that the Golden Gate, which would naturally have been placed opposite to the middle of Adrian's enclosure, is actually situated some 300 feet North of the middle of the present area.

2) Quaresmius also ascribes this church to Justinian; Tom. II. p. 79.

3) Theophanes Chronogr. p. 281. ed. Paris. Eutychii Annales, Oxon. 1658, Tom. II. p. 284, seq. Will. Tyr. I. 2. Hist. of Jerus. by Mejr ed-Dîn, Fundgruben des Orients, V. p. 161.—It must be borne in mind, that of all the writers who profess to give an account of these events, whether Franks or Orientals, the earliest lived nearly or quite two centuries afterwards.

4) Will. Tyr. I. 2. VIII. 3. Abulfed. Syria, ed. Köhler, p. 87. Comp. Wilken's Gesch. der Kreuzzüge I. p. 21, seq.

this mosk to be rebuilt, he himself prescribing the form; and that it was commenced in A. H. 66 (A. D. 686) and completed in seven years.[1] This was the present splendid edifice, Kubbet es-Sŭkhrah, "Dome of the Rock." The church above mentioned was probably that which we have attributed to Justinian, the present mosk el-Aksa. To this, which must early have been converted into a mosk, the successors of Omar would seem also to have made additions; a nave or vault upon the eastern part is even said to have been erected by himself, and still bears the name of the Mosk of Omar. In another part of this mosk he is said also to have prayed, and his altar is still shown.[2] The exterior walls of the great area appear at the same time to have been built up and strengthened; the place beautified; the buildings richly decorated with gold and silver; and the whole furnished with cisterns and reservoirs of water.

Such at least the crusaders found the spot, when in the year 1099, they captured Jerusalem by storm. A multitude of the Muslim inhabitants took refuge in the sacred enclosure, as a place of strength. But their hope was vain; for Tancred and his followers broke in upon them, and committed here the most horrible excesses. Many who had fled to the roof of the mosk, were shot down with arrows; others rushed for safety into the cisterns, and there perished by drowning or the sword.[3] More than ten thousand Muslims, accord-

1) Abulfed. ibid. p. 87. Hist. of Jerusalem in Fundgr. des Orients V. pp. 158, 162. The object of Abd el-Melek, in building the mosk, is said to have been, to prevent the necessity of pilgrimages to Mecca; Fundgr. des Orients, ibid. p. 162. Eutychii Annales, II. p 364.—Yet some of the historians of the crusades refer the building of this same mosk or temple to Christians! So Albertus Aquensis VI. 24, in Gesta Dei p. 281; Jac. de Vitriaco, c. 62.

2) Fundgr. des Orients II. p. 84. Ali Bey's Travels II. p. 217. Comp. Richardson's Travels II. pp. 304, 306. In the circumstance of Omar's praying in this place during his visit to Jerusalem, lies a further proof that the building itself is of a more ancient date; Fundgr. des Or. l. c.

3) Fulcher. Carnot. in Gesta Dei p. 398. Albert. Aq. VI. 20, seq. ibid. p. 280. Will. Tyr. VIII. 20.

ing to the admission of Christian writers, were massacred within the sacred precincts; neither sex nor age was spared; and the whole area was covered ankle-deep with blood.[1] Arabian writers give the number of those here slain at seventy thousand.[2]

So soon as order was restored, the city cleared of the dead, and a regular government established by the election of Godfrey as king; one of the first cares of the sovereign was to dedicate anew to Jehovah the sacred place, where of old His presence had been wont to dwell. A regular chapter of canons was established in the great mosk, now converted into a temple of the Lord; as well as in the church of the Holy Sepulchre. These were endowed with all the immunities and privileges which belonged to the cathedrals of the West; and dwellings were assigned to them around the building.[3] The Christians erected a choir and altar within the edifice, over the sacred rock; which itself was covered over with marble.[4] The historians of the crusades all speak of the great mosk es-Sŭkhrah, as the *Templum Domini;* they describe its form and the rock within it; and know it by no other name.[5] To the other large edifice on the southern side of the enclosure, they give indiscriminately the name of *Palatium*, *Porticus*, *seu Templum Salomonis*, the Palace, Portico, or Temple of Solomon;[6] and these names it appears to have retained among the Franks down to

1) Will. Tyr. VIII. 20. Fulcher. Carnot. ibid. p. 398. Raimund de Agiles frankly says: "Tantum hoc dixisse sufficiat, quod in templo et porticu Salomonis equitabatur in sanguine usque ad genua et usque ad frenos equorum." Gesta Dei, etc. p. 179.

2) So Abulfeda Annal. Muslem. A. H. 492. Comp. Wilken Comment. de Bellor. Cruc. ex Abulf. Historia, pp. 31, 32.

3) Will. Tyr. IX. 9.

4) Will. Tyr. VIII. 3. Reinaud Extr. des Historiens Arabes, 1829, p. 217.

5) Will. Tyr. VIII. 2. XII. 7. Jac. de Vitriac. c. 62.

6) So *Palatium* Salomonis, Albert. Aq. VI. 20, 22; in Gesta Dei, etc. p. 280. Will. Tyr. XII. 7. *Porticus* Salomonis, Raim. de Ag. in Gesta Dei p. 179. *Templum*, Will. Tyr. VIII. 3. Jac. de Vitr. c. 62. This latter writer says, it was perhaps called *Templum Salomonis* to distinguish it from the other, or Templum Domini.

the sixteenth century.[1] A portion of this edifice was assigned by King Baldwin II. in A. D. 1119 to a new order of knights; who from this circumstance took the name of the Knights Templars.[2] The accounts we have of this structure are not very distinct. The king himself would seem to have dwelt in it; whence perhaps the appellation *palace;* and it very probably had many side-buildings, and was more extensive than the present mosk el-Aksa.[3] The Templars built a wall before the *Mihrâb* or niche of prayer; and used this part of the building as a granary.[4]

In A. D. 1187, the celebrated Egyptian Sultan Salâh ed-Dîn (Saladin) became master of Jerusalem; and the order of things was again reversed. The sacred precincts of the temple fell back once more to the uses of Islam; the golden cross upon the lofty dome was cast down and dragged along the ground, and the crescent elevated in its place; the erections and ornaments of the Christians were all removed; and the edifices purified throughout with rose-water brought for the occasion from Damascus. The voice of the Mu'edh-dhin was again heard proclaiming the hour of prayer; and Saladin himself was present in a solemn assembly, and performed his devotions in both the mosks es-Sŭkhrah and el-Aksa.[5] From that time onward to the present day, the precincts of the ancient temple, with one slight exception, have remained in the hands of the Muslims; and seem to have expe-

1) Brocardus calls it *Palatium Regis*, c. 8; Marinus Sanutus *Templum Salomonis*, Secret. fidel. Cruc. III. 14. 9. Breydenbach and Fabri speak of it in A. D. 1483 as *Porticus Salomonis*, Reissb. des h. Landes, pp. 111, 251. So too Rud. de Suchem in the 14th century, and Baumgarten A. D. 1507, p. 86.

2) Will. Tyr. XII. 7. Jac. de Vitr. c. 65. Comp. Benjamin of Tudela, I. p. 87, ed. Baratier.

3) Jac. de Vitriaco describes it as being "immensae quantitatis et amplitudinis." c. 62.

4) Reinaud Extr. des Historiens Arabes, 1829, p. 215.

5) Wilken Gesch. der Kreuzz. III. ii. p. 311, seq. Reinaud Extr. des Historiens Arabes, 1829, p. 214, seq.

rienced no important changes, except such as are incidental to the lapse of time.

The rock es-Sŭkhrah beneath the great dome, with the excavated chamber under it, is one of the most venerated spots of Muslim tradition and devotion. Even the Christians of the middle ages regarded it as the stone on which Jacob slept when he saw the vision of angels; and also as the spot where the destroying angel stood, when about to smite Jerusalem for the sin of David.[1] Some regarded it likewise as having existed anciently under the most holy place of the Jewish temple; and as still containing in itself the ark and other sacred things.[2] The followers of Muhammed have loaded this rock with legends respecting their prophet; until it has become in their eyes second alone to the sacred *Ka'beh* of Mecca. Their writings are full of the praises of the Sŭkhrah and of Jerusalem. Even the false prophet himself is reported to have said: "The first of places is Jerusalem, and the first of rocks is the Sŭkhrah;" and again: "The rock es-Sŭkrah at Jerusalem is one of the rocks of Paradise."[3] The mosk el-Aksa is perhaps even more respected. Indeed the two are regarded as forming together one great temple; which, with their precincts, is now commonly called el-Haram esh-Sherîf; but which in earlier Arabian writers bears the general name of Mesjid el-Aksa, "the remotest" of the holy places, in distinction from Mecca and Medina.[4] This grand

1) Gen. xxviii. 11, seq. 2 Sam. xxiv. 16. Phocas de Locis Sanct. xiv. Will. Tyr. VIII. 3, fin.

2) Albert. Aq. VI. 24. p. 281. Fulcher. Carn. c. 18. p. 397.—Has this stone perhaps any connection with that mentioned by the *Itiner. Hieros.* in A. D. 333, near the two statues of Adrian? "Est non longe de statuis lapis pertusus, ad quem veniunt Judaei singulis annis, et unguent eum, et lamentant se cum gemitu, et vestimenta sua scindunt, et sic recedunt."

3) Hist. of Jerusalem by Mejr ed-Dîn, Fundgr. des Orient. II. p. 384. See also the account of two Arabic MSS. of similar import, in the Royal Library at Paris; Notices et Extraits des MSS, etc. Tom. III. pp. 605, 610.

4) The *Jâmi'a* el-Aksa is the mosk alone; the *Mesjid* el-Aksa is the mosk with all the sacred en-

temple or mosk they regarded as the largest in the world, except that at Cordova in Spain.[1]

The walls around, and even the ground itself, bear evidence of being in part composed of the materials of former structures. Fragments of marble columns and masses of rubbish are visible in places where the ground is turned up or the sward broken;[2] and the famous seat of Muhammed, where he is to sit and judge the world, is nothing more than the broken shaft of a column, built in horizontally across the upper part of the eastern wall, instead of a square stone. Being longer than the thickness of the wall, it projects somewhat externally and overhangs the Valley of Jehoshaphat; thus affording an occasion for the legend.[3] Other similar fragments are seen in various parts of the wall.

We heard much of the large reservoirs or cisterns which are said to exist under the surface of the Haram; and which have been often mentioned by travellers.[4] The Muslim worship, with its many ablutions, requires an abundant supply of water in or near the mosks; and the construction of cisterns was here almost a matter of course. The ancient subterranean

closure and precincts, including the Sŭkhrah. Thus the words *Mesjid* and *Jâmi'a* differ in usage somewhat like the Greek ἱερόν and ναός. See Hist. of Jerus. in Fundgr. des Or. II. p. 93. Comp. Ibn el-Wardi, in Abulf. Syria, ed. Köhler, p. 180.

1) Ibn el-Wardi, l. c. Edrîsi, p. 343, ed. Jaubert.—The most complete oriental account of the Haram is in the History of Jerusalem by Mejr ed-Dîn, already so often quoted, Fundgr. des Or. II. pp. 81, 118, 375. V. p. 157. Less important is the History of the Temple by Jelâl ed-Dîn, translated by Reynolds, Lond. 1836. See also Ali Bey's Travels, Vol. II. c. 16. p. 214, seq. Richardson's Travels, II. p. 285, seq. Bonomi in Hogg's Visit to Alexandria, Jerusalem, etc. II. p. 272, seq.

2) Richardson's Travels, II. p. 312.

3) Bonomi in Hogg's Visit to Alexandria, etc. pp. 282, 283.

4) Niebuhr Reisebeschr. Bd. III. Anh. p. 141. Ali Bey's Travels, II. p. 226.—So Tacitus describes the ancient temple as having within its enclosure "piscinae cisternaeque servandis imbribus;" Hist. V. 12. Comp. Aristaeus in Appendix to Havercamp's Josephus, Vol. II. p. 112. So too the *Itin. Hieros.* A. D. 333, speaks thus of the site of the temple: "Sunt ibi excepturia magna aquae subterraneae et piscinae magno opere aedificatae."

vaults in this quarter, appear to have been in part used for this purpose. These cisterns are filled, as in the private houses of the city, partly by rain-water from the roofs of the buildings; and partly also by the aqueduct which brings water from Solomon's Pools. At the time of our visit, this was dry. Between the mosks es-Sŭkhrah and el-Aksa there is a marble basin or fountain, bordered with olive, orange, and cypress-trees; apparently connected with the tank or cistern described here in the times of the crusaders, which had a basin and a dome supported by columns, and furnished water for the besieged and their cattle.[1] In the lower part of the city, around the enclosure of the mosk, are several public fountains of Muslim construction, which appear once to have been fed from the cisterns of the Haram; but they have long ceased to flow.

The spacious crypts or vaults, which are known to exist beneath the mosk el-Aksa and the southern part of the enclosure, are a matter of intense interest; and we may hope that the time is not far distant, when they will become more accessible to a complete examination. They are mentioned by travellers, who heard of them as early as the fifteenth century.[2] An Arabian writer of about the same age speaks of a structure beneath the mosk, which was called the "ancient temple," and was referred to Solomon on account of its massive architecture.[3] In A. D. 1697, Maundrell appears to have seen these vaults, and describes them as extending one hundred feet or more under Mount Moriah on the South side, and con-

1) Albert. Aq. VI. 22, in Gesta Dei p. 280.

2) Breydenbach, A.D. 1483, relates that they could contain 600 horses; Reissb. p. 111. Fabri in the same year, says, they were held to have been the stables of Solomon; and he entered them through a hole in the outer wall; ibid. p. 279. Baumgarten in A. D. 1507 heard of them as spacious and magnificent, and capable of receiving many thousand men; Peregrinatio, p. 86.

3) History of Jerusalem, etc. Fundgr. des Or. II. p. 95.

sisting of columns of a single stone, each four feet in diameter, and arched over with very large stones. How he can have seen these from the outside, from any point within the city-wall, is to me inexplicable; unless there may have been at the time a breach in the wall. At present there is no trace of any door or entrance on this part. A few small holes or windows high up, are all the openings now visible.[1] So far as I know, the only Frank travellers who have been permitted to descend into the vaults from within, are Richardson in 1818, and Messrs. Bonomi, Catherwood and Arundale in 1833.[2] The usual entrance from above is at the S. E. corner of the enclosure, where a flight of steps leads down to "a square subterraneous chamber, in the middle of which, laid on the floor, is a sculptured niche" in the form of a sarcophagus, with a canopy above. This is called the cradle of Jesus. "From this chamber," Mr. Bonomi says, "we descended a staircase to a spacious crypt, or series of vaults, extending beneath a considerable portion of the enclosure.—These noble substructions consist entirely of Roman arches of large dimensions and admirable workmanship, probably of the age of Herod."[3] Richardson remarks, that the stones of which the square columns are composed, are five feet long and are bevelled at the ends and corners; they are disintegrated, and have a much older appearance than the arches which they support.[4]

1) Maundrell's Journey, etc. Apr. 5. De Bruyn (le Brun) appears to speak of the same vaults a few years before. He calls them the *Temple of the Presentation;* they were under a mosk and could be seen only with lights; Voyage, etc. p. 262.

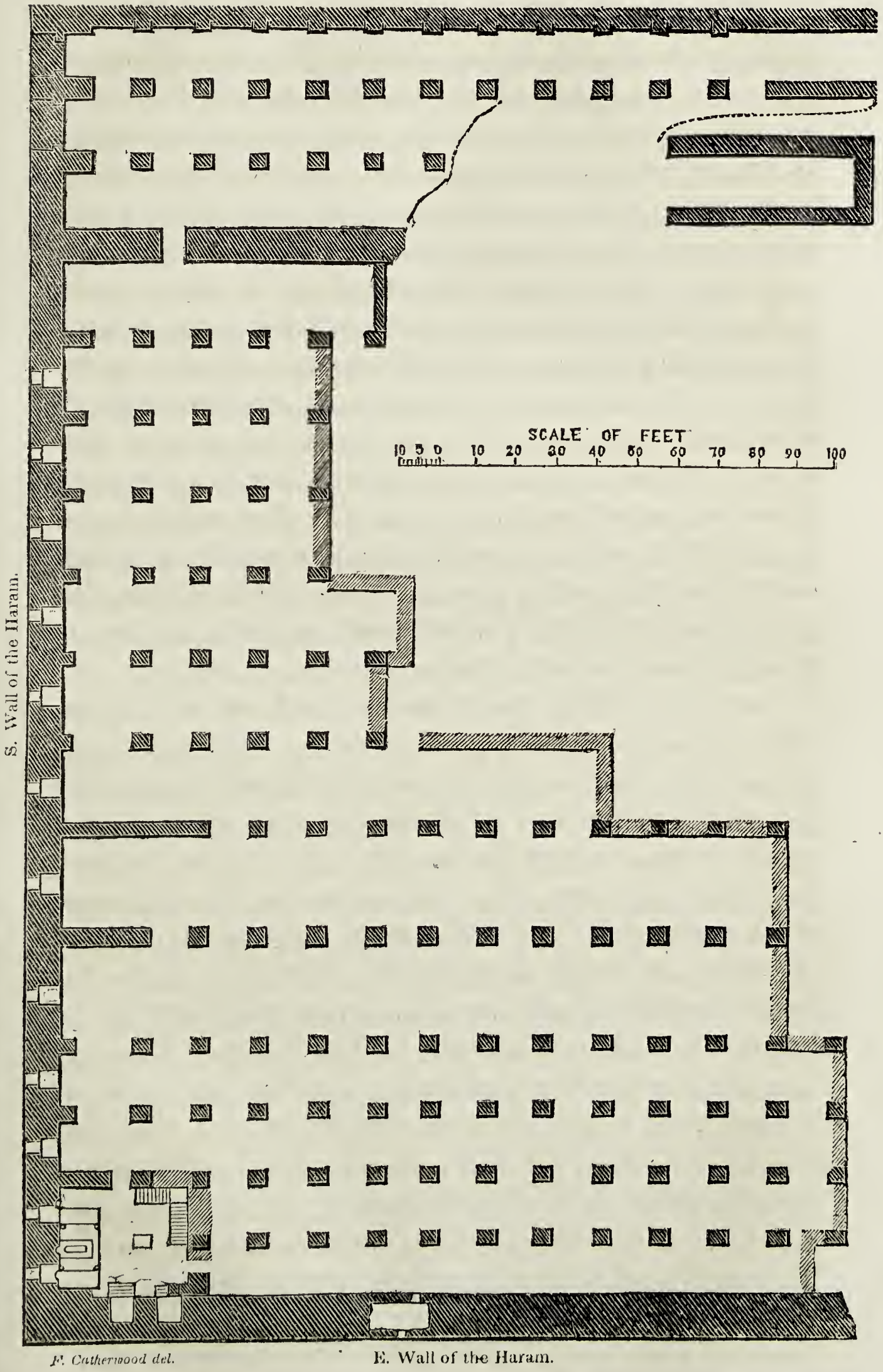
2) Richardson's Travels, II. p. 308, seq. Bonomi in Hogg's Visit to Alexandria, etc. II. p. 281, seq. Ali Bey also heard of the vaults, but did not visit them; Travels II. p. 227.

3) Bonomi, l. c. II. pp. 281, 282. I have since had the pleasure of receiving from Mr. Bonomi himself a full confirmation of the account given in the text.

4) Travels, II. pp. 309, 310.

From information and plans kindly communicated to me by Mr. Catherwood, who with his companions examined and measured these subterranean structures without hindrance in 1833, it appears that these vaults, so far as they are now accessible to strangers, were originally formed by some fifteen rows of square pillars measuring about five feet on a side, built of large bevelled stones, and extending from the southern wall northwards to an unknown extent. The intervals between the rows are usually, though not entirely, regular; and the pillars of some of the ranges are of a somewhat larger size. In each row the pillars are connected together by semicircular arches; and then the vault, resting upon every two rows, is formed by a lower arch, consisting of a smaller segment of a circle. The circumstance mentioned by Richardson, that the pillars have a much older appearance than the arches which they support, was not noticed by the three artists. From the entrance at the S. E. corner of the Haram for about one hundred and twenty feet westward, these ranges of vaults extend northwards nearly two hundred feet; where they are shut up by a wall of more modern date. For about one hundred and fifty feet further West, the vaults are closed up in like manner at less than a hundred feet from the southern wall; and to judge from the wells and openings above ground, it would seem as if they had thus been walled up, in order that the northern portion of them might be converted into cisterns. Beyond this part, towards the West, they again extend still further North. They are here terminated on the West, before reaching el-Aksa,[1] by a like wall filling up the intervals of one of the rows of pillars. How much further

1) The distance from the S. E. corner of the Haram to the eastern wall of el-Aksa, according to Mr. Catherwood's plans, is about 475 feet; while from the same corner to the western side of the vaults now open to visitors, is only about 320 feet.



F. Catherwood del.

they originally extended westward, is unknown; not improbably quite to the western wall of the enclosure, where are now said to be immense cisterns.[1]

The ground in these vaults rises rapidly towards the North; the southernmost columns with the double arches being about thirty-five feet in height; while those in the northern parts are little more than ten feet high. The surface of the ground is everywhere covered with small heaps of stones; the memorials of innumerable pilgrims who have here paid their devotions. It is a singular circumstance, that the roots of the large olive-trees growing upon the area of the Haram above, have in many places forced their way down through the arches, and still descending have again taken root in the soil at the bottom of the vaults. —The accompanying plan of these vaults is from the skilful pencil of Mr. Catherwood; and was made out from his own very full and exact measurements.

At about thirty feet in front of el-Aksa, just on the East of its principal porch or door, a passage leads down by steps through the pavement and under the mosk, and continues to descend partly by steps and partly without, until it terminates in a noble ancient gateway adjacent to the southern wall of the enclosure. This gateway is forty-two feet in breadth by fifty or sixty feet in length from South to North. It is described by Mr. Catherwood as entirely similar in its character and architecture to the Golden Gateway spoken of above,[2] except that it would seem to be of a somewhat earlier date; the same groined roof and marble columns of the Corinthian order, indicating a Roman origin or at least a Roman style. Like that too it is a double gateway; and the middle row of columns extends up through the whole passage.

1) The vaults described by Maundrell would seem to have been on the west of el-Aksa.

2) See the description of the Golden Gateway above, p. 437.

There can be little question, that this is the ancient gate mentioned by Josephus, in the middle of the southern side of the temple-area.[1] It may have been erected, or at least decorated by Herod; and perhaps rebuilt by Adrian or at the same time with the church under Justinian. At present the floor of it is about fifteen or twenty feet above the ground on the outside. Probably an external flight of steps originally connected it with the part of the city below. The present southern wall, here wholly modern, entirely covers this gateway from view; so that a person by merely looking at the outside, would have no suspicion of its existence; although to one already acquainted with it, certain traces in the wall serve to mark its place. This is just on the East of the spot, where the city-wall, coming up from the South, meets the wall of the Haram; it is consequently very near the middle of the southern side of the ancient temple-area. At present neither this gateway, nor the passage leading down to it, have any communication with the vaults above described.—The existence of this ancient gateway goes to confirm indubitably the view already taken, that the present southern wall of the Haram occupies the identical site of the same wall of the ancient temple-area.[2]

The crypts too are doubtless ancient; and may be referred, partly perhaps to the vaulted substructions which were built up, or very probably only repaired, for the area of Justinian's church;[3] and partly either

1) Joseph. Ant. XV. 11. 5.

2) See above, p. 428. The reader, I am sure, will join with me in thanking Mr. Catherwood for this very specific and valuable information respecting the vaults and this subterranean gateway. The very existence of such a gate now becomes known to the public for the first time. Besides the preceding plan of the vaults, the same gentleman has in his possession similar measurements and plans of the subterranean and golden gateways; as well as of both the mosks el-Aksa and es-Sŭkhrah, and of the Haram in general. It is greatly to be desired, that these too may be given to the public.

3) See above, p. 439.

to Herod, or with greater probability to a still earlier date. Herod indeed appears not to have meddled to any great extent with the substructions of the temple; except perhaps so far as to construct a subterraneous passage to it from the fortress Antonia.[1] In doing this he doubtless made use in part of older vaults or excavations; and we know from Josephus, that such existed in connection with the temple. This historian relates,[2] that near the close of the siege of Jerusalem by Titus, Simon, one of the Jewish tyrants in the upper city, withdrew with a company of friends and stone-cutters, furnished with tools and provisions, into a subterraneous cavern, with the hope of being able through connecting passages and by occasional mining, to make their escape without the walls of the city. In this purpose however they were frustrated; their provisions failed; and after Titus had departed from the city, Simon, arraying himself in white and purple, emerged from the ground on the spot where the temple had stood, in the vain hope of terrifying the guards who were there stationed, and thus making his escape. He was however seized, and reserved for the triumph of Titus.—This account implies at least, that there had been subterranean vaults or passages beneath the temple, corresponding to the *cavati sub terra montes* of Tacitus.[3]

Of the living fountain deep under the site of the temple, mentioned perhaps by Aristaeus and apparently referred to by Tacitus, I shall speak in another place, in treating of the waters of Jerusalem.

1) See above, p. 418. Joseph. Antiq. XV. 11. 7.

2) Joseph. B. J. VII. c. 2.

3) Hist. V. 12, "Templum in modum arcis,—fons perennis aquae, cavati sub terra montes, et piscinae cisternaeque servandis imbribus." See generally on this subject an Essay of J. D. Michaelis, which exhibits much more of hypothesis than of proof, entitled: *Von den Gewölbern unter dem Berge Zion und des Tempels*, in his Zerstreute kl. Schriften, p. 427, seq. Münter Antiquarische Abhandlungen, p. 87, seq.

VI. TOWER OF HIPPICUS, AND OTHER TOWERS.

Having thus obtained, in the substructions of the former temple, a fixed and definite point in the ancient topography of Jerusalem; and having found in the same a specimen and standard of the Jewish mural architecture; we afterwards turned our attention to other like remains, in the hope of being able to determine the places and the direction of some of the ancient towers and walls, which stood in connection with those of the temple.

Hippicus. The most important spot in a topographical respect yet to be ascertained, was the exact situation of the ancient tower Hippicus; which Josephus, as we have seen, assumed as the starting-point in his description of all the city-walls; and which was to be sought for at the N. W. corner of the upper city or Mount Zion.[1] Of this tower the historian has left us a tolerably minute description.[2] It was built by the first Herod, and named after a friend of his who had fallen in battle. The form was a quadrangle, twenty-five cubits on each side; and built up entirely solid to the height of thirty cubits. Above this solid part was a cistern twenty cubits high; and then, for twenty-five cubits more, were chambers of various kinds; with a breastwork of two cubits and battlements of three cubits upon the top. The altitude of the whole tower, accordingly, was eighty cubits. The stones of which it was built, were very large, twenty cubits long by ten broad and five high; and (probably on the upper part) were of white marble.—It must here be borne in mind, that Josephus (as above mentioned) probably had no such specific measurements; he was writing, after the lapse of years, at Rome;

1) See above, pp. 411, 413. 2) Ibid. V. 4. 3, 4.
Joseph. B. J. V. 4. 2.

and the numbers here given must therefore be regarded only in the light of conjectural estimates.[1] On the other hand, the solidity of the lower part of the tower is a circumstance so remarkable, and was probably of such publicity, that it cannot well be referred to the imagination of the historian.

On the same northwestern part of Zion, a little South of the Yâfa Gate, lies at present the fortress or citadel of the modern Jerusalem. It is an irregular assemblage of square towers, surrounded on the inner side towards the city by a low wall; and having on the outer or West side a deep fosse. The towers which rise from the brink of the fosse, are protected on that side by a solid sloping bulwark or buttress, which rises from the bottom of the trench at an angle of about 45°. This part bears evident marks of antiquity; and this species of sloping bulwark, of which we saw several other specimens in Palestine, I am disposed to ascribe to the times of the Romans. In respect to the present instance, Adrian, in rebuilding and fortifying the city, would very naturally build up again a citadel upon the commanding site of the former one; and to his age I am inclined to refer these massive outworks.—At the capture of Jerusalem by the crusaders in A. D. 1099, this fortress was the strongest part of the city, and the last to be surrendered.[2] The historians of those times speak of it under the name of the Tower or Citadel of David; and describe it as built of large hewn stones and of immense strength.[3] When the walls of the city were thrown down A. D. 1219 by the Muslims, this fortress was spared;[4] and continued to bear among Franks

1) See above, p. 415.
2) Will. Tyr. VIII. 24.
3) Will. Tyr. VIII. 3. IX. 3. Jac. de Vit. c. 60, "ex lapidibus quadris caemento et plumbo fusili quasi indissolubiliter compaginatis constructam."
4) Wilken Gesch. der Kreuzz. VI. p. 238.

only the name of the Tower of David down to the sixteenth century.[1] It then apparently began also to be called the Castle of the Pisans; in consequence, it is said, of having formerly been rebuilt or repaired by citizens of the Pisan republic.[2]

Within this fortress, as the traveller enters the city by the Yâfa Gate, the northeastern tower attracts his notice; and, even to the unpractised eye, bears strong marks of antiquity. The upper part is apparently modern, and does not differ from the other towers and walls around; but the lower part is built of larger stones, bevelled at the edges; and apparently still occupying their original places. Among the Franks this is now known as the Tower of David; while they sometimes give also to the whole fortress the name of the Castle of David.

Judging from the external appearance of this tower, and its situation in respect to Zion and the ancient temple, it early occurred to us, that the antique lower part of it was very probably a remnant of the tower of Hippicus erected by Herod; which, as Josephus informs us, was left standing by Titus, when he destroyed the city.[3] This impression was strengthened as we daily passed and repassed the fortress, and became more at home in the topography of the city; and especially was this the case, after we had discovered the remains of the ancient bridge connected with the temple. We now repaired to the citadel, as

1) So Marin. Sanut. A. D. 1321, Secr. fid. Cruc. III. 7. 2. F. Fabri in 1483; Reissb. p. 245.

2) *Pisanum Castellum*, *Pisanorum Castrum*, Adrichomius, p. 156. Cotovicus in 1598, Itin. p. 279.—The use of this name appears to have grown up in the sixteenth century. I find it first in the Itinerary of B. Salignac who travelled in A. D. 1522, (Tom. VII. c. 1,) from whom Adrichomius quotes it; and also in Helffrich, A. D. 1565, Reissb. p. 717; Zuallardo, A. D. 1586, p. 261; Cotovicus, as above; Sandys in A. D. 1610, p. 123, etc.

3) Joseph. B. J. VII. 1. 1.—I was not aware at the time, that the same suggestion had been made on similar grounds, by Scholz, *de Golgathae situ*, p. 8. See also Raumer's Palästina, edit. 2. p. 349. Schubert's Reise, II. p. 532.

already related;[1] and, from a careful inspection and measurements, found our former impressions confirmed.

This tower has been built up at the top like the other towers, in later times; and is of about the same altitude as the rest. It is quadrangular, though not a square; the eastern side measuring 56 feet 4 inches; and the southern side, 70 feet 3 inches. The bearings of the sides, taken from the S. E. corner, are N. 11° W. and W. 11° S. The height of the antique portion is 40 feet, but there is much rubbish in the fosse at the bottom; and an allowance must be made of from 5 to 10 feet more on this account. The large stones of which this part is built, have evidently never been disturbed; they have neither been thrown down nor relaid; and the general impression which they make upon the beholder, is precisely like that of the remains of the ancient walls around the temple. One of these stones measured $9\frac{2}{3}$ feet long, $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad, and 3 feet 10 inches high; another, 10 feet 2 inches long, 4 feet 1 inch high; a third, $12\frac{3}{4}$ feet long, 3 feet 5 inches broad. They are therefore smaller than the stones of the temple-walls; and although like them bevelled, yet the rest of the surface is only roughly hewn. These two circumstances indicate a less massive and less careful style of architecture; and probably imply a later date.

The entrance of the present tower is in the western side, about half way up, in the upper or modern part. To the lower or antique part there is no known nor visible entrance, either from above or below; and no one knows of any room or space in it. The officer who accompanied us, said there was a tradition among them, that there was formerly an underground passage leading to it; but no one knew any thing of it

1) See above, p. 361.

now.—We made all our measurements in the presence of the soldiers; and some of them even went so far as to assist us.

All these circumstances, compared with the account of Josephus, and taking into view the conjectural and exaggerated nature of his statements, tally well enough with the description of Hippicus; while the position of the tower and the apparent solidity of the antique part, leave little room to doubt of its identity.

Towers of Phasaëlus and Mariamne. Josephus describes also two other towers,[1] built by Herod in the same general form, but of somewhat larger dimensions; one called Phasaëlus after his friend, and the other Mariamne after his favourite wife. They stood not far from Hippicus, on the first or ancient wall, which ran from the latter tower eastward to the temple, along the northern brow of Zion. This brow was here thirty cubits above the valley of the Tyropoeon, and added greatly to the apparent height of the towers. Connected with these towers and Hippicus, was the royal castle or palace of the first Herod, which was enclosed by the said wall on the North, and on the other sides by a wall thirty cubits high. The whole was finished with great strength and regal splendour; and furnished with halls, and galleries, and cisterns, and apartments without number.[2]

But of all this strength and splendour not a vestige now remains, except the lower solid part of Hippicus, as above described. Titus, indeed, on beholding the massive nature of these works, gave orders to let these three towers be left standing, as memorials to posterity of the impregnable nature of the fortifications, which Roman valour had been able to subdue.[3] But not

1) B. J. V. 4. 3, 4.
2) Ibid. V. 4. 4.
3) Ibid. VI. 9. 1. VII. 1. 1.

improbably Adrian, while he retained the foundations of Hippicus within his fortress, may have demolished the remains of the others for the sake of their materials.

The Tower Psephinos. Josephus describes a fourth tower, called Psephinos, situated overagainst Hippicus and the other towers towards the North, at the N. W. corner of the third or exterior wall of the city.[1] This would seem to have been built by Agrippa, or at least in connection with the third or later wall. It was of an octagonal form, 70 cubits high; and from it could be seen Arabia towards the rising sun, and the inheritance of the Hebrews quite to the sea.[2] All this shows that this tower must have stood upon the high swell of ground which extends up N. N. W. from the N. W. corner of the present city. Here, at the distance of 700 feet from that corner, on the highest part of the ridge, (which indeed is higher than Zion,) are traces of ancient substructions, apparently of towers or other fortifications, extending along the high ground for 650 feet further in the same direction. This must always have been an important spot in every siege of the city; and although none of these substructions may perhaps be actually those of Psephinos; yet, in connection with the traces of walls, of which I shall speak hereafter, they serve to render it probable, that the tower in question stood somewhere in this vicinity.

VII. ANCIENT AND LATER WALLS.

We have thus ascertained two fixed points in the ancient topography of the city, viz. the tower of Hippicus and the temple. At the former of these Josephus makes all the walls of the city begin; while they all

1) Joseph. B. J. V. 4. 2, 3.

2) This must of course mean the Dead Sea. The Mediterranean is not visible from the Mount of Olives; and much less could it be seen from any tower, or any part of the walls, around Jerusalem.

terminated at or near the latter. An outline of their several courses has already been given.[1]

First or earliest Wall. We follow again the order of Josephus.[2] The first and most ancient wall, beginning at Hippicus on the North, ran first (eastward) along the northern brow of Zion and so across the valley to the western side of the temple-area. In this wall were the other two towers Phasaëlus and Mariamne; and adjacent to it on the South were the palace of Herod, the Xystus, and the bridge leading from the upper city to the temple. The length of this wall, between Hippicus and the temple, as near as we could estimate by paces, must have been about 630 yards.

From the tower of Hippicus again, this first or ancient wall on the West ran (southwards) along the western brow of Zion, through a place called Bethso to the Gate of the Essenes. Both these are now unknown. Thence it turned along on the South over Siloam; and bending round on the East to Solomon's Pool and the place called Ophla, it joined itself to the eastern portico of the temple.[3] This account is not very definite; and whether any traces of this wall remain, is doubtful. Along the western brow of Zion, outside of the present city, is a narrow higher ridge, which may not improbably be composed of rubbish and the foundations of the ancient wall. Quite at the S. W. corner of Zion also, just below the brow, we found detached ledges of rock scarped in several places, as if they had once formed part of the foundation of the wall; and these we could trace for some distance eastward. We were told also, that in digging deeply for the foundations of the new barracks, just South of the castle, many remains of walls and buildings had been discovered; but we were too late

1) See above, p. 409, seq.
2) B. J. V. 4. 2.
3) See Note 1, on page 411.

to examine this point ourselves; the excavations having been already filled up.—From a remark of Benjamin of Tudela, about A. D. 1165, it would seem that traces of some part of the ancient wall of Zion were visible in his day.[1]

In respect to the wall upon the eastern side, from Siloam to the temple, the question arises, whether it so ran as to include the waters of Siloam and the fountain of the Virgin within the city. On this point there is nothing very definite in Josephus or elsewhere; but it seems hardly probable, that the wall should have been carried close along by the only living fountains in the whole region of the city, and yet exclude them. It would seem too, from a passing notice of Josephus, that the city extended quite down to Siloam; and that there was a wall or fortification around that fountain.[2] This is also more distinctly evident from the language of Nehemiah.[3] From Siloam the wall ran to the pool or reservoir of Solomon; and this cannot well have been any other than the fountain of the Virgin, which is deep and excavated in the rock. At least there is nothing else in all this quarter which answers to that pool; nor is there any other passage in Josephus which can be applied to this ancient fountain.[4] The eastern wall then probably ran along the Valley of Jehoshaphat; or else, crossing the point of the narrow ridge N. E. of Siloam, swept down into that valley so as to include the fountain.[5] Then, passing by Ophla (Ophel), it ascended and terminated at the eastern portico of the temple. This circumstance serves to show, that the wall did not run along the brow of the ridge above the

1) Benj. de Tud. par Baratier, I. p. 94.
2) B. J. VI. 7. 2. VI. 8. 5.
3) Nehem. iii. 15.
4) This is not improbably the "King's pool" of Nehem. ii. 14.
5) On the narrow ridge N. of Siloam and S. of the temple, at the distance of 960 feet from the city wall, are scarped rocks, apparently the foundations of a wall or some other like structure.

valley; for in that case it could have terminated only on the southern side of the temple, and not upon the eastern. The third wall too, coming from the North towards the temple, is said to terminate, not at the temple itself, but at this ancient wall in the valley of the Kidron.[1]—Hence, the place Ophel would appear to have been situated on the South of the temple, perhaps extending down towards the fountain of the Virgin. It was inhabited by the Nethinims, who performed the menial offices of the temple and therefore dwelt in its vicinity.[2]

In the account of the siege of Jerusalem by Titus, it appears, as we have seen, that after the Romans had got possession of the lower city, the temple, and all the tract South of it as far as to Siloam, they were yet unable to enter the upper city, into which the Jews had withdrawn themselves.[3] We are therefore under the necessity of supposing a wall along the eastern brow of Zion, above the Tyropoeon, extending from the Xystus probably to a point near Siloam.[4] Such a wall is not mentioned by Josephus or any other writer; but the circumstsnces of the case obviously imply its existence.[5]

Second Wall. Josephus' description of the second wall is very short and unsatisfactory. It began at the gate called Gennath in the first wall, and, encircling only the tract lying North, extended to Antonia.[6] This Gate of Gennath in the first wall doubtless was near the tower of Hippicus; and was prob-

1) Joseph. B. J. V. 4. 2.

2) Nehem. iii. 26, 27. xi. 21. Comp. Joseph. B. J. V. 6. 1.

3) Joseph. B. J. VI. 6. 2, 3. VI. 7. 2.

4) Comp. Joseph. B. J. VI. 8. 5.

5) In 2 Chr. xxxiii. 14, king Manasseh is said to have "compassed about Ophel, and raised it up a very great height." May it not have been the case, that the more ancient wall on this side included only Zion; while this wall of Manasseh ran, as described by Josephus, from Siloam by Solomon's Pool to the eastern side of the temple?

6) Joseph. B. J. V. 4. 2, κυκλούμενον δὲ τὸ προσάρκτιον κλίμα μόνον, ἀνήει μέχρι τῆς Ἀντωνίας.

ably not included within the second wall, in order to allow a direct passage between the upper city and the country.[1] The two extremities of this wall are therefore given; but its course between these points is a matter of some difficulty to determine.

Did this wall perhaps run from its beginning near the tower of Hippicus *on a straight course* to the fortress Antonia? This question I feel compelled to answer in the negative, for several reasons. First, the express language of Josephus, that it took a *circular* course. Secondly, the Pool of Hezekiah, which is of high antiquity and lay within the ancient city, must then have been excluded. Thirdly, the whole space included in the lower city, would in this way have been reduced to a small triangle, of about 600 yards on the South side and some 400 yards on the East side. And lastly, this wall, built for the defence of this part of the city, would thus have passed obliquely across the very point of the hill Akra, and have been overlooked and commanded on the West by every other part of the same hill.

These reasons constrain me to suppose, that the second wall ran first from near Hippicus northwards across the higher and more level part of Akra; and then sweeping round to the valley between Akra and Bezetha, somewhere in the vicinity of the present Damascus Gate, either followed that valley down to the corner of Antonia, or else perhaps took the same direction across the high ground of Bezetha; although the whole of this latter hill certainly was not included by it.—In favour of this general hypothesis, we have not only the express language of Josephus, as above quoted, and the fact that it removes all the difficulties

1) It must have been on the East of Hippicus, for the *third* wall began at that tower. It could not however have been far distant; because that part of Zion was then high and steep. Jos. B. J. V. 4. 4.

just enumerated as incident to a straight course; but it also receives some support from another incidental remark of the Jewish historian. Having described the manner in which the Romans, after many fierce assaults, got possession of the second wall, he informs us, that Titus immediately caused all the *northern* part to be thrown down; but placed troops in the towers along the *southern* part. Had the wall run in a direct course from Hippicus to Antonia, the writer could well have spoken only of the eastern and western parts.[1]

The same hypothesis seems to receive further confirmation from a fact which we noticed near the Damascus Gate; and which apparently has not been mentioned by any writer. Every traveller has probably observed the large ancient hewn stones, which lie just in the inside of that gate towards the East. In looking at these one day, and passing around them, we were surprised to find there a square dark room adjacent to the wall; the sides of which are entirely composed of stones having precisely the character of those still seen at the corners of the temple-area,—large, bevelled, with the whole surface hewn smooth, and thus exhibiting an earlier and more careful style of architecture than those remaining in the tower of Hippicus. Connected with this room on the West side is a winding staircase, leading to the top of the wall,

1) I owe to a friend the suggestion, that this second wall may have been that mentioned by Josephus, as having been built in the time of the Maccabees in order to cut off the Syrian fortress (ἄκρα) from the city and from the temple. This fortress, according to Josephus, stood on Akra overagainst the temple; and the wall was drawn *through the midst of the city;* Joseph. Antiq. XIII. 5. 11. But according to the writer of the first Book of Maccabees, the fortress was in the city of David, on Zion; and a high wall or bulwark (ὕψος μέγα) was erected between it and the city; 1 Macc. xii. 35—37. The account of Josephus must therefore be regarded as doubtful; and further, the wall thus built seems at any rate to have been only temporary. See Crome, art. *Jerusalem*, p. 291, seq. in Ersch and Gruber's Encyclopädie. See also above, p. 410, Note 2.

the sides of which are of the same character. Following out this discovery, we found upon the western side of the gate, though further from it, another room of precisely the same kind, corresponding in all respects to that upon the eastern side; except that it had been much more injured in building the present wall, and is in part broken away. Of the stones, one measured $7\frac{1}{3}$ feet long by $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet high; and another $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by a like height. Some of them are much disintegrated and decayed; but they all seem to be lying in their original places, as if they had never been disturbed or moved from the spot where they were first fitted to each other.—The only satisfactory conjecture which I can form respecting these structures is, that they were ancient towers, of a date anterior to the time of Herod, and probably the guard-houses of an ancient gate upon this spot. This gate could have belonged only to the second wall.[1]

Except these, no traces whatever of the second wall are visible, so far as we could discover. Heaps of rubbish out of various centuries, and modern houses, cover the whole ground.[2]

Third Wall. This began also at Hippicus;[3] ran northwards as far as to the tower Psephinos; then passed down opposite the sepulchre of Helena; and being carried along through the royal sepulchres, turned at

1) Another conjecture is indeed possible, viz. that when Adrian rebuilt the city, the Romans may have taken stones from the ruins of the temple and built these towers. But this seems inconsistent with the style of architecture, the evident fitting of the stones to each other, and also with their decay apparently in their original places. Nor is such a conjecture supported by any thing analogous in other parts of the city.

2) In describing the siege of Jerusalem by Herod, before the third wall was built, Josephus speaks also of a first and second wall; Antiq. XIV. 16. 2. But his *first* wall there is evidently that to which the besiegers first came, and which they first took, viz. the second wall of the text above, which was then the exterior wall on this part. By the *second* wall in the same passage, he obviously means the wall around the court of the temple.

3) Joseph. B. J. V. 4. 2.

the corner tower by the Fuller's monument, and ended by making a junction with the ancient wall in the valley of the Kidron. This wall was commenced by the elder Agrippa under the emperor Claudius; but he desisted from it for fear of offending that emperor; and it was afterwards carried on and completed by the Jews themselves, though on a scale of less strength and magnificence.[1] Before the erection of this wall, the buildings of the city had extended themselves far to the North, covering also the hill Bezetha; and were "wholly naked" of defence.

The tower Psephinos, as we have seen, must have stood upon the high ground N. N. W. of the N. W. corner of the modern city. The tomb of Helena, if not identical with the present Tombs of the Kings, (as is most probable,) was doubtless near them.[2] The wall is not said to have been carried so far as this monument; but only passed opposite or overagainst it. Of the other points mentioned, nothing definite is known. The conclusion is a probable one, that the wall passed from Psephinos in an easterly or north-easterly direction to the brow of the Valley of Jehoshaphat; and thence along that valley, until it met the ancient wall coming up from the South on the East of the temple.

In correspondence with this conclusion, we suppose that we found traces of the foundations of Agrippa's wall on its N. W. part. I first came upon them accidentally, in returning one evening with Mr. Whiting from the Tombs of the Kings along the path leading up to the Yâfa Gate. A few days after, in passing the same way with Messrs. Smith and Lanneau, we

1) As Claudius ascended the throne in A. D. 41, and Agrippa is generally held to have died in A. D. 44, the date of the commencement of this wall is pretty definitely fixed. It was begun ten or twelve years after our Lord's crucifixion.

2) See "Tombs of the Kings," further on.

examined them more leisurely. On the East of the said path, in the field about half way between those tombs and the N. W. corner of the city, we noticed foundations, which belonged very distinctly to the third wall; consisting of large hewn blocks of stone, of a character corresponding to other works of those ages. On the right of the path, and running up the hill in a line with the above, were other similar foundations; and still further up were stones of the like kind apparently displaced. By following the general direction of these, and of several scarped rocks which had apparently been the foundations of towers or the like, we succeeded in tracing the wall in zigzags in a westerly course for much of the way to the top of the high ground. Here are the evident substructions of towers or other fortifications, extending for some distance; and from them to the N. W. corner of the city, the foundation of the ancient wall is very distinctly visible along the hard surface of the ground. Within the corner of the modern walls is also a trace of the ancient one; to which we shall recur again presently.[1]

The next day, April 28th, we took measurements of these foundations, so far as we could determine the various points, as follows; beginning at the N. W. corner of the city.

1. N. 26° W.	700 feet.	To the foundations of a large tower.
2. N. 20° W.	650	Across other foundations of towers, etc.
3. N. 10° E.	336	To another point; the intervening wall not traceable.
4. N.	100	To foundations, etc.
5. E.	400	To the path.
6. N. 20° E.	465	Along the path.
7. N. 75° E.	264	To the end of the large hewn stones first seen.

In the courses No. 5 and 6, there was some uncertainty. Hewn rocks lay to the West in a line with

1) See below, under "Walls of the Middle Ages."

the course No. 7. We therefore returned to the end of No. 4, and measured new courses as follows:

5. N. 40° E.		To hewn rocks, apparently the foundation of a tower.
6. N. 75° E.	200 feet.	To the path, at the end of the former No. 6.
7. N. 75° E.	264	To the hewn stones, as before.

Beyond this point we were unable to trace any thing; unless perhaps the foundation of a tower hewn in the rock towards the N. E. but quite uncertain. A like search along the brow of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, was also in vain. Indeed, the level ground on this side of the city has now been ploughed over for ages, and the stones carried off or thrown together to form terraces; so that all traces of former foundations have nearly disappeared. Many ancient cisterns however still remain; and marble tesserae are often picked up.

Circumference of the Ancient City. The ancient southern wall, we know, included the whole of Zion; the eastern wall ran probably along or near the bottom of the Valley of Jehoshaphat; while, as we have now seen, the northern wall passed some forty or fifty rods N. of the present city. Hence I am disposed to allow full credit to the assertion of Josephus, that the ancient city was 33 stadia in circumference, equivalent to nearly $3\frac{1}{3}$ geogr. miles. The present circumference, as we have seen, is about $2\frac{1}{8}$ geogr. miles; but the extent of Zion now without the walls, and that of this tract upon the North, are sufficient to account for the difference.

Walls of Adrian, and of the Middle Ages. The new city of Ælia, erected by Adrian on the ruins of Jerusalem, would appear to have occupied very nearly the limits of the present city. The portion of Zion which now lies outside, would seem then also to have been excluded; for Eusebius and Cyrill in the fourth century

speak of the denunciation of the prophet as being fulfilled, and describe Zion as "a ploughed field."[1] On the North, the extent of the second wall and the remains of the ancient gate formed an appropriate boundary; the wall being carried across to the brow of the Valley of Jehoshaphat on the East, so as to include the hill Bezetha, instead of bending southward, as anciently, to the corner of Antonia.

The walls of Adrian appear to have remained until the times of the crusaders; having probably been more or less repaired and strengthened by the Muhammedans, after they became masters of the city. About A. D. 697, Arculfus speaks of the southern wall as running across the northern part of Zion;[2] and when the crusaders came, they also found the greater part of Zion still without the city. When they invested Jerusalem, the Count of Toulouse pitched his camp on this side, between the city and the church of Zion, which was a bow-shot distant from the wall.[3]

Thus from the time of Adrian onward, even to our day, the limits of the Holy City appear to have undergone no important change. But the walls themselves have been subjected to many vicissitudes. Towards the close of the period in which the crusaders had possession of the city, the walls in several parts had fallen down from age; and on this account a subscription was entered into in A. D. 1178, among the princes of Europe both secular and ecclesiastical, in order to rebuild them; they engaging to pay a sum of money

1) Mic. iii. 12. Euseb. Demonstr. Evangel. VIII. 3. p. 406. Edit. Colon. 1688, "Mons Sion—per viros Romanos in nulla re a reliqua regione differens aratur et colitur, ut nos quoque inspexerimus boum opera locum arari et seminari."—Cyrill. Hieros. Catech. XVI. 18. p. 253. ed. Touttée: *Σιὼν ὡς ἀγρὸς ἀροτριασθήσεται· προλέγων τὸ νῦν ἐφ' ἡμῶν πληρωθέν.* The *Itin. Hieros.* also implies that Zion was then without the walls: "Item exeunti in Hierusalem, ut ascendas Sion," etc. See above, p. 390.

2) Adamnan. ex Arculf. I. 1.

3) Will. Tyr. VIII. 5.

annually until the work should be completed.[1] This labour was probably in part accomplished; for in A. D. 1187 the city sustained a siege of several weeks, before it yielded to the power of Saladin. Some years later, in the beginning of A. D. 1192, Jerusalem being threatened with a siege by Richard of England, Saladin spent the whole winter in strengthening the fortifications. New walls and bulwarks were erected, and deep trenches cut. The Sultan himself rode daily around the works to encourage the labourers; and sometimes brought stones to them upon the saddle of his own horse. In like manner the high officers and learned men took part in the work; which was completed in six months, and had all the firmness and solidity of a rock. Indeed the fortifications were now stronger than ever before; and the population of the city increased greatly.[2]

In A. D. 1219, the Sultan Melek el-Mu'adh-dhem of Damascus, who now had possession of Jerusalem, ordered all the walls and towers to be demolished, except the citadel and the enclosure of the mosk; in the fear lest the Franks should again become masters of the city, and thus find it a place of strength. This order occasioned great grief to the Muslim inhabitants, great numbers of whom abandoned the city; but it was carried into effect during that and the following year.[3] In this defenceless state the city continued, until it was again delivered over to the Christians in consequence of the treaty with the emperor Frederick II. in A. D. 1229; with the express understanding, according to Arabian writers, that the walls should not be rebuilt.[4] Yet ten years later, in A. D. 1239, the

1) Will. Tyr. XXI. 25, "propter nimiam vetustatem cum muri jam ex parte corruissent," etc.

2) Wilken Gesch. der Kreuzzüge, Band IV. p. 457. Band VI. p. 236.

3) Wilken ib. VI. pp. 237, 370.

4) Wilken ib. pp. 478, 480.

barons and knights of the kingdom of Jerusalem made no scruple to break the terms of the truce; and began anew to build up the walls, and erected a strong fortress on the West of the city.[1] Their progress however was interrupted by an assault of the Emîr David of Kerak, who seized the city, strangled the Christian inhabitants, and threw down again not only the walls and the fortress just erected, but also dismantled the Tower of David, which had before been spared.[2]

Four years later, in A. D. 1243, Jerusalem was again by treaty given over into the hands of the Christians without reserve; to the great indignation of all good Mussulmans, who now beheld their sacred places again profaned.[3] The fortifications appear to have been immediately repaired; for they are mentioned as existing in the storm of the city by the wild Kharismian hordes in the next year, A. D. 1244;[4] shortly after which the city reverted for the last time into the hands of its Muhammedan masters, with whom it has remained unto the present day.[5] Of its walls we have no further account; except the fact of their having been rebuilt, as already described, in A. D. 1542.[6]

These modern walls, as I have already remarked,[7] appear to occupy the site of the former ones; a slight deviation only being visible around the N. W. corner of the city. Here both along the western and northern sides, the remains of a former wall may be traced for some distance on the outside, evidently belonging

1) Wilken Gesch. der Kreuzz. VI. p, 587.
2) Ibid. p. 596.
3) Ibid. p. 628.
4) Chorosini, Chorosmini, Chowarismii; ibid. pp. 631, 634. Comment. de Bell. cruc. Hist. p. 202.
5) Wilken Gesch. der Kreuzz. VI. p. 646.
6) After these historical notices, it is apparent that the story can be only a fable, which is related by Quaresmius, and also by Le Brun and by Korte, respecting the architect employed by the Sultan to build up the present walls, viz. that he lost his head for leaving out Mount Zion. See Quaresmius, II. p. 41. Le Brun's Voyage etc. p. 298. Kortens Reise, p. 216.
7) See above, p. 384.

to the times of the crusades. A more important fragment of the same wall lies on the inside, just within the N. W. corner of the present walls, not far from the Latin convent. It consists of a large square area or platform, built up solidly of rough stones, fifteen or twenty feet in height, and paved on the top. This was probably the former N. W. bastion of the city.[1] At the S. W. corner of this platform are the remains of a higher square tower, built of small unhewn stones cemented together. All these works seem to have been erected on the ruins of a still older wall; for at the S. W. corner of the mass, near the ground, are three courses of large bevelled stones, rough-hewn, passing into the mass diaognally, in such a way as to show that they lay here before the tower and bastion were built. These are probably remains of the ancient *third* wall; the foundations of which we had already traced from near this point on the outside of the city. These ancient stones bore from Hippicus N. 36° W.

VIII. ANCIENT AND LATER GATES.

Ancient Gates. In regard to the gates of ancient Jerusalem, there exists so much uncertainty, that it would seem to be a vain undertaking to investigate the relative positions of them all. Of the ten or twelve gates enumerated in the Book of Nehemiah and other parts of the Old Testament, Reland remarks with truth, that it is uncertain, first, whether they all were situated in the external walls, or perhaps lay partly between the different quarters of the city itself, as is

1) Not improbably the "Tancred's Tower" of the crusaders, which according to William of Tyre (VIII. 5) was at the N. W. angle of the city. The present tradition has transported it to the N. E. corner; see Prokesch Reise etc. p. 86.

common even now in oriental cities; secondly, whether some of them were not gates leading to the temple, rather than out of the city; and again, whether two or more of the names enumerated, may not have belonged to the same gate.[1] Indeed, it is certain, that there must have been gates forming a passage between the upper and lower city; and we know that there were several on the western side of the area of the temple. There must also probably have been a gate and way leading from Akra to the quarter S. of the temple, passing perhaps beneath the bridge. But of all those gates, who can ascertain the names?

It must however be borne in mind, that all the accounts of the Old Testament relate to the city only as bounded on the N. by the *second* wall of Josephus. There can of course be no allusion to any of the gates of the subsequent third wall. Hence, for example, the suggestion that the present Gate of St. Stephen may correspond to the ancient Sheep Gate, is wholly untenable; since until the time of Agrippa no wall existed in that quarter.

The chief passages relating to the gates and walls of the ancient city, are found in the Book of Nehemiah;[2] and these are occasionally illustrated by other incidental notices. It is obvious in the account of the rebuilding of the walls by Nehemiah, that the description begins at the Sheep Gate, and proceeds first northwards and so towards the left around the city till it again terminates at the same gate.[3] This gives the probable order in which the ten gates there mentioned stood; and the other two named elsewhere can be easily inserted.[4] But where was the beginning, or

1) Reland Pal. p. 855.
2) Nehem. ii. 13–15. iii. 1–32. xii. 31–40.
3) Nehem. iii. 1, 32.
4) The ten gates mentioned in Nehem. c. iii. are the following: Sheep-gate, vs. 1, 32; Fish-gate, vs. 3; Old-gate, vs. 6; Valley-gate, vs. 13; Dung-gate, vs. 14; Fountain-gate, vs. 15; Water-gate, vs.

what the intervals between, or where the positions of the several gates? These are questions which can never be answered, except in a general and unsatisfactory manner.

Yet in regard to the probable position of a few of the gates, we may arrive at some more definite conclusion. Thus the Fountain-gate, without much doubt, was situated near to Siloam;[1] and was not improbably the same as the "gate between two walls" by which king Zedekiah attempted to escape.[2] There was also doubtless upon the northern side of the city a gate leading towards the territory of Benjamin and Ephraim; and this would naturally take the name of those tribes. It may very probably have been the ancient gate, which we found upon the site of the present Damascus Gate. The notices of the Valley-gate and Dung-gate are less distinct. In passing around the city towards the left, they are mentioned before reaching the Fountain-gate or Siloam; and are therefore to be sought probably on the western or southern part of Zion. Now the northwestern corner of Zion lies just at the bend of the Valley of Gihon or upper part of Hinnom; and here would naturally be, and so far as we know always has been, a gate,—the Gennath of Josephus. Here probably stood the Valley-gate, overagainst the Dragon-fountain or Gihon.[3] We must look then for the Dung-gate on the southern part of Zion; and as the nature of the ground in this part does not admit of frequent gates, there seems good

26; Horse-gate, vs. 28; East-gate, vs. 29; Gate Miphkad, vs. 31. Also in xii. 39 we find the Prison-gate, perhaps the same with Miphkad; and the Gate of Ephraim. Then again mention is made of the Corner-gate, 2 Chr. xxv. 23; and the Gate of Benjamin, Jer. xxxvii. 13. The latter is probably the same as the Gate of Ephraim.—Josephus mentions further the Gate called Gennath, near the tower of Hippicus; and that of the Essenes on the S. part of the city; B. J. V. 4. 2.

1) Neh. iii. 15. xii. 37.
2) 2 K. xxv. 4.
3) Neh. ii. 13.

reason for regarding it as identical with the Gate of the Essenes mentioned by Josephus.[1]

In this way the course of Nehemiah during his night-excursion becomes plain. Issuing from the Valley-gate on the West, he followed down the Valley of Hinnom and around to Siloam and the King's (Solomon's) Pool, or Fountain of the Virgin. Beyond this the narrow valley was full of ruins, so that there was "no place for the beast that was under him to pass." He therefore went up "by the brook" on foot, and then returned by the same way.[2]

Further than this, I would not venture to advance. The notices respecting the other gates are too indefinite to enable us to determine any thing more, than that some of them probably did not belong to the external city-wall. Thus the Horse-gate evidently lay between the temple and the royal palace;[3] and the Water-gate was apparently on the western part of the area of the temple.[4]

Gates of the Middle Ages. Of the gates erected by Adrian in his new city Ælia, we have no account. As however the walls of that city apparently occupied very nearly the same place as the present ones, the nature of the ground renders it almost certain that

1) Josephus says the wall ran from Hippicus through the place called Bethso to the Gate of the Essenes, and thence on the South to Siloam; B. J. V. 4. 2. This would fix the probable site of this gate on the S. W. part of Zion. The name Bethso (*Βηθσώ*) which Josephus does not translate, seems to be the Hebrew בֵּית צוֹאָה "Dung place;" and not improbably marks the spot, where the filth of this part of the city was thrown down from Zion into the valley below. From this circumstance, the adjacent gate might naturally receive the synonymous name שַׁעַר הָאַשְׁפּוֹת "Dung-gate."

2) Nehem. ii. 13—15.

3) 2 Kings xi. 16. 2 Chron. xxiii. 15.

4) Nehem. viii. 1, 3. Comp. iii. 26.—Of the Fish-gate, Jerome says that it led to Diospolis and Joppa, and of course was on the W. or N. W. side of the city; but this is inconsistent with the order in Nehemiah c. iii. See Hieron. in Sophon. i. 10.—The different hypotheses respecting the ancient gates may be seen in Bachiene's Paläst. Th. II. § 94–107. Faber's Archäol. der Heb. I. p. 336. Hamelsveld Bibl. Geogr. II. p. 75, seq. Rosenmueller Bibl. Geogr. II. ii. p. 216.

there must have been, as now, one or more gates on the West, North, and East; and probably also on the South.

The earliest mention of gates in the subsequent ages, is by Adamnanus, from the information of Arculfus, about A. D. 697.[1] Then follow the notices of both Christian and Arabian writers in the times of the crusades and later.

On the *West* side there appears to have been formerly two gates. The first and principal was the *Porta David*, Gate of David, mentioned by Adamnanus, and also by the historians of the crusades.[2] At that period it was called by the Arabs *Bâb el-Mihrâb*.[3] This corresponds to the present Yâfa Gate or Bâb el-Khŭlîl.—The second was the *Porta Villae Fullonis*, Gate of the Fuller's field, of Adamnanus.[4] It seems to have been the same which Brocardus calls *Porta Judiciaria* in the wall of those days, somewhere over-against the church of the Holy Sepulchre, leading to Silo (Neby Samwîl) and Gibeon. Probably also it was the same which Arabian writers call *Serb*.[5] There is no trace of it in the present wall.—There would seem also to have been a small portal contiguous to the Armenian convent in the S. W.[6]

On the *North*, there were also two gates; and all Christian writers speak of the principal one in those days as being called the Gate of St. Stephen. There can be no question on this point; for they all, from Adamnanus down to Rudolf de Suchem (A. D. 1336—

1) Lib. I. 1, "Portas bis ternas, quarum per circuitum civitatis ordo sic ponitur. 1. Porta David ad occidentalem partem montis Sion. 2. Porta villae Fullonis. 3. Porta S. Stephani. 4. Porta Benjamin. 5. Portula, hoc est parvula porta, ab hac per gradus ad vallem Josaphat descenditur. 6. Porta Tecuitis."

2) Gesta Dei, etc. p. 572. Will. Tyr. VIII. 5.

3) Edrîsi about A. D. 1150, ed. Jaubert, I. p. 341. Hist. of Jerusalem in Fundgr. des Or. II. p. 129.

4) So called from Isa. vii. 3.

5) Brocardus, c. VIII. fin. Mejr ed-Dîn Hist of Jerus. in Fundgr. des Or. II. p. 129.

6) Mejr ed-Dîn, l. c.

50), mention this gate and the place of St. Stephen's martyrdom, as upon the North side of the city.[1] The tradition of the monks on this point, was changed apparently between the middle of the fourteenth and that of the fifteenth century; since they now, as we have seen, call the eastern gate of the city by this name, and show the place of martyrdom near it.[2] The same northern gate is also sometimes called the Gate of Ephraim, in reference to its probable ancient name.[3] Arabic writers give it the name of *Bâb 'Amûd el-Ghŭrâb*;[4] of which the present Arabic form, Bâb el-'Amûd, is only a contraction.—Further East was the *Porta Benjaminis*, Gate of Benjamin,[5] corresponding apparently to the present Gate of Herod.

Towards the *East* there seem to have been also at least two gates. The northernmost, corresponding to the present Gate of St. Stephen, is described by Adamnanus as a "small portal from which steps led down into the Valley of Jehoshaphat." The crusaders called it the Gate of Jehoshaphat, from the valley.[6]

1) Adamnanus l. c. Will. Tyr. VIII. 5, "porta quae hodie dicitur *Sancti Stephani*, quae ad Aquilonem respicit." IX. 19. Gesta Dei, etc. p. 572. Marin. Sanut. III. 14. 7.—That Stephen was here stoned is expressly said; Will. Tyr. VIII. 2, "a Septentrione—ubi usque hodie locus in quo protomartyr Stephanus a Judaeis lapidatus." Gesta Dei, p. 572. Brocardus c. VIII. fin. Rud. de Suchem in Reissb. des h. Landes, p. 846.

2) St. Stephen's Gate appears on the East side of the city, as at present, in the Journals of Steph. von Gumpenberg, A. D. 1449; Tucher, A. D. 1479; Breydenbach and F. Fabri, A. D. 1483, etc. See Reissb. des h. Landes, pp. 444, 665, 111, 252.—Quaresmius gravely undertakes to remove the idea of any change of place, by supposing that the present gate formerly faced towards the North! Elucid. II. p. 295.

3) Brocardus c. VIII. fin. Marinus Sanutus calls it, probably erroneously, the Gate of Benjamin; de Secret. III. 14. 8.

4) Edrîsi ed. Jaubert, p. 341. Hist. of Jerus. in Fundgr. des Or. II. p. 129.

5) Adamnanus, as above. Brocardus c. VIII. fin. The latter writer calls it also *Porta Anguli*. Comp. De Salignaco, Tom. VIII. c. 5. It is not mentioned by Edrîsi. Mejr ed-Dîn in his Hist. of Jerusalem speaks here of two gates; Fundgr. des Orients, II. p. 129.

6) Will. Tyr. XI. 1. Gesta Dei per Fr. p. 572. Benj. de Tudela par Barat. pp. 88, 91.—Brocardus speaks of another gate further North, which he calls the Dung-gate; c. VIII. fin.

Arabian writers mention it as *Bâb el-Ŭsbât*, Gate of the Tribes, another form of the modern Arabic name Bâb es-Sŭbât.[1] The four lions sculptured over the present gate on the outside, as well as the architecture, show that this structure did not proceed from the Muhammedans, and must be older than the present walls. Not improbably the earlier "small portal" on this spot, was rebuilt on a larger scale and thus ornamented by the Franks, when they built up the walls of the city, either about A. D. 1178 or in A. D. 1239.[2]— The other gate on this side is the famous Golden Gate, *Porta aurea*, in the eastern wall of the Haram esh-Sherîf; now called by the Arabs Bâb ed-Daharîyeh, but formerly named by the Arabian writers *Bâb er-Rahmeh*, "Gate of Mercy."[3] The name *Porta aurea* as applied to this gate, I have not been able to trace back further than to the historians of the crusades.[4] It probably comes from some supposed connection with one of the ancient gates of the temple, which are said to have been covered with gold.[5] We have seen above, that it is apparently of Roman origin.[6] This gate was already closed up in the times of the crusades; but was thrown open once a year on Palm-Sunday, in celebration of our Lord's supposed triumphal entry through it to the temple.[7] It remains still walled up; because (according to the Franks) the Muhammedans

1) Edrîsi ed. Jaubert, I. p. 344. Hist. of Jerus. in Fundgr. des Or. II. p. 129.

2) See above, pp. 468—470.

3) Edrîsi ed. Jaubert, I. pp. 341, 344. Hist of Jerus. in Fundgr. des Or. II. p. 96.

4) Will. Tyr. VIII. 3. Gesta Dei, etc. p. 572.—Quaresmius professes to quote Jerome for the name, but gives no reference whatever; Elucid. II. p. 336. The name *Porta aurea* occurs indeed in Hegesippus *de Excidio Hieros.* lib. V. c. 42, in the Biblioth. Max. Patrum, Tom. V. p. 1203. But the author is there obviously speaking of a gate of the ancient interior temple or fane itself.

5) Joseph. B. J. V. 5. 3. It may perhaps have been regarded as the ancient *Porta orientalis;* see Lightfoot Opp. I p. 555, seq.

6) See above, p. 437.

7) Gesta Dei par Francos, p. 572. xxiv. Edrîsi ed. Jaubert, p. 541.

believe that a king is to enter by it, who will take possession of the city and become Lord of the whole earth.[1] But Muhammedan writers describe it as having been closed up for the security of the city and sanctuary; because it is on the side towards the desert, and there would be no great advantage in having it open. Some say it was walled up by Omar; and will not be opened again until the coming of Christ.[2]

On the *South* side were likewise two gates. Of the easternmost, the present Dung Gate of the Franks, I find no mention earlier than Brocardus, about A. D. 1283, who regards it as the ancient Water Gate.[3] It may have been the *Porta Tecuitis* of Adamnanus. An Arabian writer speaks of it in the fifteenth century as the Bâb el-Mughâribeh, its present native name.[4]— Further West, between the eastern brow of Zion and the Porta David (Yâfa Gate), there was according to Adamnanus, no gate in his day.[5] Yet the crusaders found one here, which they call the Gate of Zion, corresponding to that which now bears the same name.[6] It is also called by Arabian writers, Bâb Sahyûn;[7] though the present native usage gives it the name of David.[8]

Thus it appears, that before the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem by Suleimân in the sixteenth century, the principal gates of the city were much the same as at the present day.

1) Quaresmius II. p. 340.
2) Hist. of Jerusalem in Fundgr. des Orients, II. p. 96.
3) Brocardus c. VIII. fin.
4) Hist. of Jerus. l. c. p. 129.
5) Adamn. ex. Arculf. I. 1.
6) Will. Tyr. VIII. 6, 19. Gesta Dei, etc. p. 572.
7) Edrîsi ed. Jaubert, p. 341. Hist. of. Jerus. l. c. p. 129.
8) In Wilken's Geschichte der Kreuzz. III. ii. p. 315, mention is made of a Gate of St. Lazarus in the southern wall; but of this I have found no further notice.

IX. SUPPLY OF WATER.

Jerusalem lies in the midst of a rocky limestone region, throughout which fountains and wells are comparatively rare. In the city itself, little if any living water is known; and in its immediate vicinity are only the three small fountains along the lower part of the Valley of Jehoshaphat. Yet with all these disadvantages of its position, the Holy City would appear always to have had a full supply of water for its inhabitants, both in ancient and in modern times. In the numerous sieges to which in all ages it has been exposed, we nowhere read of any want of water within the city; while the besiegers have often suffered severely, and have been compelled to bring water from a great distance. During the siege by Titus, when the Jews, pressed with famine, had recourse to the most horrible expedients, and thousands daily died of hunger, there is no hint that thirst was added to their other sufferings.[1] Yet when Antiochus Pius had previously besieged the city, his operations were at first delayed for want of water; and Josephus regards it as the result of a divine interposition, that the Romans under Titus were not in like manner straitened.[2] So too in the siege by the crusaders, A. D. 1099, the inhabitants were well supplied; while the besiegers were driven to the greatest straits by thirst under the burning sun of June.[3] Thus in every age the truth of

1) Joseph. B. J. V. 12. 3. V. 13. 4, 7.

2) Joseph. Ant. XIII. 8. 2. B. J. V. 9. 4. p. 350. ed. Havercamp.

3) Albert. Aq. VI. 22. in Gesta Dei, etc. p. 280. Will. Tyr. VIII. 7, "Interea siti fatigabatur exercitus vehementissima.—Augebat denique sitis importunitatem, et angoris geminabat molestiam, aestatis inclementia et ardens Junius," etc. The distress of the host appears to have been very great. On the other hand, the inhabitants, he says, were abundantly supplied, both with rain-water and that brought by aqueducts from abroad; in which way two immense reservoirs (maximae quantitatis) near the enclosure of the temple were supplied; VIII. 4 fin. Comp. also VIII. 24.

Strabo's brief description has been manifest: "Jerusalem, a rocky well-enclosed fortress; within well-watered, without wholly dry."[1]

It becomes therefore a matter of some historical importance, as well as interest, to ascertain as far as possible, how this supply of water has been furnished to the city. To this inquiry I address myself here, in giving an account of the Cisterns, the Reservoirs, and the Fountains, in and around the city, with some notices of the aqueduct from Solomon's Pools.

CISTERNS. The main dependence of Jerusalem for water at the present day is on its cisterns; and this has probably always been the case. I have already spoken of the immense cisterns now and anciently existing within the area of the temple; supplied partly from rain water, and partly by the aqueduct.[2] These of themselves, in case of a siege, would furnish a tolerable supply. But in addition to these, almost every private house in Jerusalem, of any size, is understood to have at least one or more cisterns, excavated in the soft limestone rock on which the city is built. The house of Mr. Lanneau in which we resided, had no less than four cisterns; and as these are but a specimen of the manner in which all the better class of houses are supplied, I subjoin here the dimensions:

	Length.	Breadth.	Depth.
I.	15 Feet.	8 Feet.	12 Feet.
II.	8	4	15
III.	10	10	15
IV.	30	30	20

This last is enormously large, and the numbers given are the *least* estimate. The cisterns have usually merely a round opening at the top, sometimes built up

1) Strabo's still briefer text is as follows: XVI. 2. 40, *τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα—ἦν γὰρ πετρώδες εὐερχὲς ἔρυμα· ἐντὸς μὲν εὔυδρον, ἐκτὸς δὲ παντελῶς διψηρόν.*

2) See above, pp. 445, 446.

with stonework above, and furnished with a curb and a wheel for the bucket; so that they have externally much the appearance of an ordinary well. The water is conducted into them from the roofs of the houses during the rainy season; and, with proper care, remains pure and sweet during the whole summer and autumn.—In this manner most of the larger houses and the public buildings are supplied. The Latin convent in particular is said to be amply furnished; and in seasons of drought is able to deal out a sufficiency for all the Christian inhabitants of the city.[1]

Most of these cisterns have undoubtedly come down from ancient times; and their immense extent furnishes a full solution of the question as to the supply of water for the city. Under the disadvantages of its position in this respect, Jerusalem must necessarily have always been dependent on its cisterns;[2] and a city which thus annually laid in its supply for seven or eight months, could never be overtaken by a want of water during a siege. Nor is this a trait peculiar to the Holy City; for the case is the same throughout all the hill-country of Judah and Benjamin. Fountains and streams are few, as compared with Europe and America; and the inhabitants therefore collect water during the rainy season in tanks and cisterns in the cities, in the fields, and along the high roads, for the sustenance of themselves and of their flocks and herds, and for the comfort of the passing travel-

1) According to Scholz, the Latin convent has 28 cisterns; Reise, p. 197. So also Salzbacher, Erinnerungen II. p. 95.

2) Such was also the case during the times of the crusades. Will. Tyr. VIII. 4, "Est autem locus in quo civitas sita est, aridus et inaquosus, rivos, fontes ac flumina non habens penitus, cujus habitatores aquis tantum utuntur pluvialibus. Mensibus enim hybernis in cisternis quas in civitate habent plurimas, imbres solent sibi colligere, et per totum annum ad usus necessarios conservare." So too Jac. de Vitriaco, c. 55. Benjamin de Tudela par Barat. p. 92.

ler.[1] Many, if not the most of these are obviously antique; and they exist not unfrequently along the ancient roads which are now deserted. Thus on the long forgotten way from Jericho to Bethel, "broken cisterns" of high antiquity are found at regular intervals.—That Jerusalem was thus actually supplied of old with water, is apparent also from the numerous remains of ancient cisterns still existing in the tract North of the city, which was once enclosed within the walls.

A few wells are occasionally found, both in and around the city; but they are either dry, or the water is low and bad. One of these has been already mentioned near the tombs in the Valley of Jehoshaphat; and another near the wall on Mount Zion.[2] There is also a well of bad water just out of the Damascus Gate, not used for drinking; and another, somewhat better, just by the Tombs of the Kings. The reason why so few wells exist, is doubtless to be referred to the small quantity and bad quality of the water thus obtained.

But although the cisterns of Jerusalem thus afford apparently an abundant supply, yet as a matter of convenience and luxury, water is brought during the summer in considerable quantity from fountains at a distance from the city. The principal of these is 'Ain Yâlo in Wady el-Werd, several miles S. W. of Jerusalem. The water is transported in skins, on the backs of asses and mules; and is sold for a trifle for drinking, to those who prefer it to rain-water. It was even said, that one of the baths is supplied with water in this way during a part of the season.

1) So Jerome, writing at Bethlehem, says: "In his enim locis in quibus nunc degimus, praeter parvos fontes omnes cisternarum aquae sunt; et si imbres divina ira suspenderit, majus sitis quam famis periculum est." Comm. in Amos iv. 7.

2) See above, pp. 349, 352.

Reservoirs. The same causes which led the inhabitants of Judea to excavate cisterns, induced them also to build, in and around most of their cities, large open reservoirs for more public use. Such tanks are found at Hebron, Bethel, Gibeon, Bîreh, and various other places; sometimes still in use, as at Hebron, but more commonly in ruins. They are built up mostly of massive stones; and are situated chiefly in vallies where the rains of winter could be easily conducted into them. These reservoirs we learned to consider as one of the least doubtful vestiges of antiquity in all Palestine; for among the present race of inhabitants such works are utterly unknown.

With such reservoirs Jerusalem was abundantly supplied; to say nothing of the immense Pools of Solomon beyond Bethlehem, which no doubt were constructed for the benefit of the Holy City. In describing these tanks or pools, I begin with those lying without the walls on the West side of the city. Here are two very large reservoirs, one some distance below the other in the Valley of Gihon or Hinnom, and both unquestionably of high antiquity. Now as the prophet Isaiah speaks of an Upper and Lower Pool, the former of which at least lay apparently on this side of the city, I venture to apply these names to the two reservoirs in question.[1]

Upper Pool. This is commonly called by the monks *Gihon*, and by the natives *Birket el-Mamilla*.[2] It lies in the basin forming the head of the Valley of Hinnom or Gihon, about 700 yards W. N. W. from the Yâfa

1) Isa. vii. 3. xxxvi. 2. 2 Kings xviii. 17.—Isa. xxii. 9.

2) Quaresmius II. p. 715. Hist. of Jerus. in Fundgr. des Or. II. p. 131. The crusaders called it *Lacus Patriarchae;* Will. Tyr. VIII. 2.—The monk Bernhard in A. D. 870, mentions in this quarter a church of St. Mamilla, in which were preserved the bodies of many martyrs slain by the Saracens. Hence perhaps the Arabic name of the reservoir. Bernh. Mon. de Locis Sanct. 16. See too Eutych. Annal. II. p. 213.

Gate. Our first visit to it has already been described, and the small rude conduit mentioned, which carries the water from it down to the vicinity of the Yâfa Gate and so to the Pool of Hezekiah within the city.[1] The sides are built up with hewn stones laid in cement, with steps at the corners by which to descend into it. The bottom is level. The dimensions are as follows:

Length from E. to W.	316 Engl. Feet.
Breadth at the W. end	200
" at the E. end	218
Depth at each end	18

We noticed no water-course or other visible means by which water is now brought into the reservoir;[2] but it would seem to be filled in the rainy season by the waters which flow from the higher ground round about. Or rather, such is its present state of disrepair, that it probably never becomes full; and the small quantity of water which it at first retains, soon runs off and leaves it dry.

The Upper Pool of the Old Testament was situated near the "highway of the Fuller's field," and had a trench or conduit.[3] This indeed is indefinite; but we are also told that there was "an upper out-flow of the waters of Gihon" on the West of the city.[4] Taking these two circumstances together, the Upper Pool and the upper out-flow or water-course of Gihon, it seems most probable that this reservoir is intended; and that it anciently had some connection with the fountain of Gihon in the neighbourhood. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact, that nowhere else in or

1) See above, p. 352.

2) Quaresmius says there are two channels, probably subterranean, by which water flows into the reservoir; one on the North, and the other on the South side. Elucid. II. p. 716.

3) Isa. vii. 3. xxxvi. 2. 2 Kings xviii. 17. Of the Fuller's field, Eusebius and Jerome merely say that it was shown in their day in the suburbs of the city; Onom. art. *Ager Fullonis*.

4) 2 Chr. xxxii. 30. I follow here the Hebrew, which the English version does not fully express.

around Jerusalem are there traces of other ancient reservoirs, to which the names of the Upper and Lower Pool can be applied with any like degree of probability.[1]

Lower Pool. This name is mentioned only by Isaiah; and that without any hint of its locality.[2] I venture to give it to the large pool lower down on the W. side of the city, called by the Arabs *Birket es-Sultân.* Monkish tradition is here somewhat at fault; some calling it the Pool of Bersaba; others of Bathsheba;[3] while others again give the latter name to a tank just within the Yâfa Gate. The accounts of travellers exhibit a like diversity. The probable identity of this tank with the Lower Pool of Isaiah, rests upon its relative position in respect to the Upper Pool just described; and upon the fact, that no other reservoir is anywhere to be found, to which this Scriptural name can so well be applied.

This reservoir is situated in the Valley of Hinnom or Gihon, southward from the Yâfa Gate. Its northern end is nearly upon a line with the southern wall of the city, which here lies about 100 feet above it. The pool was formed by throwing strong walls across the bottom of the valley; between which the earth was wholly removed; so that the rocky sides of the valley are left shelving down irregularly, and form a narrow channel along the middle. The wall at the S. end is thick and strong like a dam or causeway; those along the sides are of course comparatively low and much broken away; that on the North is also in part thrown down. A road crosses on the causeway at the southern end; along which are fountains erected by the Muslims, and once fed from the aqueduct which

1) Pococke also assumes these as the Upper and Lower Pool; Descr. of the East, II. pp. 25, 26. fol.

2) Isa. xxii. 9.

3) Quaresmius Elucidat. II. p. 596, seq.

passes very near. They were now dry. The following are the measurements of this reservoir:

Course of the two sides	S. 10° W.
" of the N. end, taken from the E. .	W. 10° N.
" of the S. end, do. . . .	W.
Length along the middle	592 Engl. Feet.
Breadth at the N. end	245
" at the S. end	275
Depth at N. end, including about 9 feet of rubbish	35
" at S. end, including about 3 feet of rubbish	42

This reservoir was probably filled from the rains, and from the superfluous waters of the Upper Pool. It lies directly in the natural channel by which the latter would flow off; but is now in ruins.

Besides these two large reservoirs, we find further without the walls, the comparatively small and unimportant tank just North of St. Stephen's Gate, called by the natives *Birket el-Hejjeh*. It seems to have been little regarded by the monks, and we did not find that it had among the Franks a name; though some, as we were told, hold it to be the Pool of Bethesda. There is also the small cistern-like tank in the trench near the Gate of Herod on the N. E. part of the city. My impression is, that both these receptacles are filled only by the rain-water, which flows in winter from the higher ground on the W. and N. W. into and along the trench.[1] They have no appearance of great antiquity.—The Pool of Siloam, also without the walls, will be described in another place.

Within the walls of the city there are *three* reservoirs; two of which are of large size.

Pool of Bathsheba. The smallest of the reservoirs, which indeed is rather a mere pit, lies just within the

1) Comp. p. 345, above. Scholz in 1821 says, that water was then carried from the reservoir outside of St. Stephen's Gate to a bath within the city. There seems to be nothing of the kind at present. Reise, p. 271.

Yâfa Gate, on the North side of the street, overagainst the castle. It is now called by the Franks the Pool or Bath of Bathsheba, on the supposition that David dwelt in the castle opposite; though it has long had to dispute its claim to this appellation with the large lower pool outside.[1] We did not hear of any Arabic name. It was now dry, nor did we learn that it ever becomes full.[2]

Pool of Hezekiah. The reservoir now usually so called, lies some distance northeastward of the Yâfa Gate, just West of the street that leads N. to the church of the Holy Sepulchre. A line of houses only separates it from this street; and as it is not far from the said church, it was formerly called by the monks the Pool of the Holy Sepulchre.[3] The natives now call it *Birket el-Hŭmmâm*, from the circumstance that its waters are used to supply a bath in the vicinity. Its sides run towards the cardinal points. Its breadth at the N. end is 144 feet; its length on the E. side about 240 feet, though the adjacent houses here prevented any very exact measurement. The depth is not great. The bottom is rock, levelled and covered with cement; and on the West side the rock is cut down for some depth. The reservoir is supplied with water during the rainy season, by the small aqueduct or drain brought down from the Upper Pool, along the surface of the ground and under the wall at or near the Yâfa Gate. When we last saw it in the middle of May, it was about half full

1) Doubdan Voyage, etc. p. 138. Quaresmius in his zeal for the other location does not even mention this spot. Maundrell drily remarks, that the one has probably the same right to the name as the other; Apr. 6th.

2) Monro calls it "an oblong pit, twenty feet deep, lined coarsely with small stones;" Summer Ramble, etc. I. p. 107. Schubert remarks that "the architecture and the size of the stones seem to belong to the works of the ancient Jerusalem;" Reise II. p. 532. I am not able to say which of these is most correct.

3) *Piscina S. Sepulchri*, Quaresmius II. p. 717.

of water; which however was not expected to hold out through the summer.

In searching in this quarter for traces of the second wall of the ancient city, we came to the Coptic convent, situated at the northern end of the reservoir. This had been recently rebuilt and was not yet completed. On inquiring of the master-mason, who had charge of the whole work, in respect to the excavations which had been made, he informed us, that in digging to lay the foundation of the new wall, running from E. to W. they had come upon an old wall of large hewn stones parallel to the present N. wall of the reservoir, and 57 feet distant from it towards the North. This wall, he said, was ten or twelve feet thick, laid in cement, and also plastered over on the S. side with cement, like the wall of a reservoir. The bottom below was rock, which was also covered towards the South with a coating of small stones and cement several inches thick, like the bottom of the present pool. In laying the foundations of another part of the convent, he had also dug down along a part of the present northern wall of the pool, which he found to be built of small stones; so small indeed that he had been compelled to remove them and build up the wall anew. All these circumstances led him to the conclusion, that the Pool of Hezekiah once extended further North, as far as to the old wall above described. To this conclusion we could only assent; for the stones thus dug out were still lying around, and bore every mark of antiquity. They were not indeed large, like those of the temple-walls; but were bevelled, and obviously of ancient workmanship.

We are told of king Hezekiah, that he "made a pool and a conduit, and brought water into the city;" and also that "he stopped the upper water-course of Gihon, and brought it straight down to the west side

of the city of David."[1] From this language we can only infer, that Hezekiah constructed a pool within the city on its western part. To such a pool, the present reservoir, which is doubtless an ancient work, entirely corresponds; and it is also fed in a similar manner. The pool must of course have been situated within the second wall of Josephus; and its present position serves therefore to determine in part the probable course of that wall.[2]

Bethesda. Sheep Pool. In the Gospel of St. John we are informed, that "there was at Jerusalem, by the Sheep [-Gate], a pool, which was called in the Hebrew tongue Bethesda, having five porches."[3] This pool the monks and many travellers have chosen to find in the deep reservoir or trench on the north side of the area of the great mosk. They give to it the different names of Bethesda and the Sheep-Pool; and in the two long vaults at its S. W. corner, they profess to find two of the five ancient porches.[4] The natives call it *Birket Isrâîl.* There is not the slightest evidence that can identify it with the Bethesda of the New Testament. Eusebius and Jerome, and also the *Itin. Hieros.* do indeed speak of a *Piscina Probatica* shown in their day as Bethesda, a double pool, one part of which was filled by the winter rains, and the other was reddish as if formerly tinged with bloody waters.[5] But neither of these writers gives any hint as to the situation of the pool. The name has doubtless been assigned to the reservoir in question compara-

1) 2 Kings xx. 20. 2 Chr. xxxii. 30. Comp. also Sirac. xlviii. 9.

2) See above, p. 462.

3) John v. 2. The ellipsis in the Greek text is to be supplied by *πύλη gate*, from Nehemiah iii. 1. See Bos Ellips. Graec. art. *πύλη*. Lightfoot Opp. II. p. 587.

4) Quaresmius calls it *Piscina Probatica;* but seems to doubt about the porches; II. p. 98, seq. Comp. Cotovic. Itin. p. 258. Maundrell Apr. 9th.

5) Onomast. art. *Bethesda.*— These fathers supplied the ellipsis in the Greek text so as to read: "There was in Jerusalem by the sheep[-pool], a pool which was called," etc. They thus make here a double pool.

tively in modern times, from its proximity to St. Stephen's Gate, which was erroneously held to be the ancient Sheep-Gate.[1] The dimensions of the reservoir have already been given; and the reasons assigned why I hold it to be the ancient fosse which protected the fortress Antonia and the temple on the North.[2] That it was formerly filled with water, is apparent from the lining of small stones and cement upon its sides. But from what quarter the water was brought into it, I am unable to conjecture; unless perhaps it may have been fed from the Pool of Hezekiah, or more probably from the superfluous waters formerly collected from the aqueduct and elsewhere, in the cisterns of the adjacent Haram esh-Sherîf. The reservoir has now been dry for more than two centuries; during which its deep bottom has been in part a receptacle of filth, and in part occupied as a garden of herbs and trees.[3]

FOUNTAINS. The only sources, or rather receptacles, of living water now accessible at Jerusalem, are three in number. They are all situated without the present walls, in and along the deep Valley of Jehoshaphat. We begin with that lowest down the valley.

Well of Nehemiah or Job. This is the deep well situated just below the junction of the Valley of Hinnom with that of Jehoshaphat. The small oblong

1) See above, p. 480. I have not found the name *Piscina Probatica* distinctly applied to this reservoir earlier than Brocardus A. D. 1283, (c. 8,) and Marinus Sanutus A. D. 1321, lib. III. 14. 10. These writers speak also (especially Brocardus l. c.) of a large reservoir adjacent to the church of St. Anne, called *Piscina interior*, now apparently destroyed. This latter seems to have been the *Piscina Probatica* of the earlier historians of the crusades; see Gesta Dei per Fr. p. 573. Will. Tyr. VIII. 4, fin. Jac. de Vitr. c. 63. They mention indeed the present reservoir as "lacus quidam;" but give it no name; Gesta Dei, p. 573. Will. Tyr. l. c. Sir John Maundeville in the 14th century places the *Piscina Probatica* within the church of St. Anne; Lond. 1839. p. 88. Comp. also F. Fabri and Rauwolf in Reissb. des heil. Landes, pp. 252, 609.

2) See above, p. 434.

3) Cotovic. Itin. p. 258. Quaresmius II. p. 98. Comp. p. 344, above.

plain there formed, is covered with an olive-grove, and with the traces of former gardens extending down the valley from the present gardens of Siloam. Indeed this whole spot is the prettiest and most fertile around Jerusalem. Frank Christians call this the well of Nehemiah, supposing it to be the same in which the sacred fire is said to have been hid during the Jewish captivity, until again recovered by that leader of the exiles.[1] But I have not found this name in any writer earlier than the close of the sixteenth century. Those who mention the well before that time, speak of it only as the En-Rogel of the Old Testament.[2] The native inhabitants call it *Bîr Eyûb*, the Well of Job.[3]

It is a very deep well, of an irregular quadrilateral form, walled up with large squared stones, terminating above in an arch on one side, and apparently of great antiquity. There is a small rude building over it, furnished with one or two large troughs or reservoirs of stone, which are kept partially filled for the convenience of the people. The well measures 125 feet in depth; 50 feet of which was now full of water. The water is sweet, but not very cold; and is at the present day drawn up by hand. An old man from Kefr Selwân was there with his cord and leather bucket, and drew for us. He said the water was good and would sit lightly on the stomach. In the rainy

1) 2 Macc. i. 19—22. Formerly also *Puteus ignis;* see Quaresmius II. p. 270, seq. Cotovic. p. 292. Doubdan Voyage p. 136.

2) So Brocardus c. 8. Marinus Sanutus III. 14. 9. De Salignac in A. D. 1522, Itin. Tom. X. c. 1. Cotovicus in 1598 calls it *Puteus ignis*; and Quaresmius seems to be the first to give it the name of Nehemiah.

3) I know not the occasion of this name; yet it occurs in Mejr ed-Dîn in A. D. 1495, as if already of long standing; Fundgr. des Or. II. p. 130. It is found also in the Arabic version of Joshua in the Paris and London Polyglotts, for En-Rogel, Josh. xv. 7. The Jewish Itinerary published by Hottinger in his *Cippi Hebraici*, says this well is properly that of Joab, though the Gentiles call it the well of Job; p. 48. Ed. 2. This does not at all help the matter. And besides, this Itinerary cannot be older than the last half of the sixteenth century; since it speaks of the building of the walls by Sultan Suleimân; p. 34.

season the well becomes quite full, and sometimes overflows at the mouth. More usually, however, the water runs off under the surface of the ground, and finds an outlet some forty yards below the well. Here, the old man said, it commonly flows for sixty or seventy days in winter, and the stream is sometimes large. An Arabian writer describes the Bîr Eyûb as built up with very large stones; and as having in its lower part a grotto or chamber walled up in like manner, from which the water strictly issues. It might be inferred, perhaps, from the same account, that in a season of drought, the Muhammedans had sunk this well to a greater depth.[1]

It is singular that the earlier historians of the crusades make no mention of this well; although on account of the abundance of its living water, it must have been of great importance to the Franks.[2] That it existed before their day is obvious; for it is mentioned by Brocardus in A. D. 1283, as being one of the fountains of the Old Testament. It may not improbably have been filled up; and thus have remained unknown to the first crusaders.[3] It is apparently of high antiquity; and there can be little doubt, that it was rightly regarded by Brocardus as identical with the En-Rogel of Scripture; though probably it may have been enlarged and deepened in the course of ages.

The fountain En-Rogel is first mentioned in the Book of Joshua, in describing the border between the

1) Mejr ed-Dîn Hist. of Jerus. in Fundgr. des Or. II. p. 130.

2) Jac. de Vitriaco says expressly of Jerusalem, "fontes autem non habet, excepto *uno*, qui Siloë nominatur;" c. 55. But he probably would not regard this well as a fountain.

3) See the story related in the work ascribed to Hugo Plagon, respecting an ancient well below Siloam, which was discovered and cleared out about A. D. 1184, and furnished an abundant supply of water. Hug. Plag. Contin. Gallica Historiæ Guil. Tyr. in Martini et Durand Collect. ampl. Tom. V. p. 889, seq. Wilken's Gesch. der Kreuzz. III. ii. p. 248.

tribes of Judah and Benjamin.[1] This border began at the N. W. corner of the Dead Sea, and passed up westward through the mountains to En-Shemesh; which may perhaps have been either the present fountain of the Apostles below Bethany on the way to Jericho,[2] or the fountain near St. Saba. Thence it came to En-Rogel; and went up the Valley of Hinnom on the South side of the Jebusites (Jerusalem); and so to the top of the hill overagainst the Valley of Hinnom westward, at the North end of the Valley of Rephaim or the Giants. Thence it was carried on to the waters of Nephtoah, perhaps the present fountain Yâlo in Wady el-Werd. It needs but a glance at the plan, to see that this description applies most definitely and exactly to the present well of Nehemiah. The border probably came up along the lower part of the Valley of Jehoshaphat to this well; and then continued up the Valley of Hinnom and across the hill to the Valley of Rephaim.[3] One other notice goes also to fix the place of the fountain Rogel in the same vicinity. When Adonijah caused himself to be proclaimed king, he assembled his friends and made a feast at En-Rogel; or, as Josephus records it, "without the city at the fountain which is in the king's garden."[4]

Siloam. The name Siloah or Siloam,[5] which has obtained such celebrity in the Christian world, is found only three times in the Scriptures as applied to waters; once in the prophet Isaiah, who speaks of it as running water; again as a pool in Nehemiah; and lastly also as a pool in the account of our Lord's mi-

1) Josh. xv. 7, 8. xviii. 16, 17.

2) Quaresmius II. p. 735. Maundrell under March 29th.

3) The site of Jerusalem lay of course wholly within the original limits of the tribe of Benjamin.

4) 1 Kings i. 9. Joseph. Antiq. VII. 14. 4. Comp. 2 Sam. xvii. 17. We have seen above, that the Arabic Version in Josh. xv 7, has 'Ain Eyûb for En-Rogel; see p. 491, Note 3.

5) The Arabic form of this name is *Selwân*.

racle of healing the man who had been born blind.[1] None of these passages afford any clue as to the situation of Siloam. But this silence is amply supplied by the historian Josephus, who makes frequent mention of Siloam as a fountain;[2] and says expressly, that the valley of the Tyropoeon extended down to Siloam; or in other words, Siloam was situated in the mouth of the Tyropoeon, on the S. E. part of the ancient city; as we find it at the present day.[3] Its waters, he says, were sweet and abundant. There can also be no room for question, that the Siloam of Josephus is identical with that of the Scriptures.

Of the same tenor is the account of the *Itin. Hieros.* A. D. 333, that to those going out of the city in order to ascend Mount Zion, the "pool" of Siloam lay below in the valley on the left. More definite is the testimony of Jerome about the close of the same century. This father says expressly that "Siloam is a fountain at the foot of Mount Zion; whose waters do not flow regularly, but on certain days and hours; and issue with a great noise from hollows and caverns in the hardest rock." Again, in speaking of Gehenna, he remarks that "the idol Baal was set up near Jerusalem at the foot of Mount Moriah, where Siloam flows."[4] Moriah must here be taken as including the

1) Isa. viii. 6 שִׁלֹּחַ. Nehem. ii. 15 שִׁלֹּחַ. John ix. 7, 11. The Hebrew word in the two passages of the Old Testament is indeed written with different vowels; but there is no reason to doubt the identity of the name. It signifies *sent, a sending*, etc. The Greek form is Σιλωάμ, both in the N. T. and in Josephus. There was probably both a fountain and a reservoir, as at the present day. Hence the diversity in different writers.—A tower of Siloam is also mentioned, Luke xiii. 4.

2) B. J. V. 4. 1, 2. V. 9. 4. p. 350. Havercamp.

3) B. J. V. 4. 1, ἡ δὲ τῶν Τυροποιῶν προσαγορευομένη φάραγξ—καθήκει μέχρι Σιλωάμ· οὕτω γὰρ τὴν πηγὴν, γλυκεῖάν τε καὶ πολλὴν οὖσαν, ἐκαλοῦμεν. Comp. B. J. V. 4. 2. It is chiefly from a misapprehension of this latter passage, that Reland and other modern commentators have transferred the place of Siloam to the valley on the S. W. part of Zion; see above, p. 411, Note 1.

4) Hieron. Comment. in Esa. viii. 6, "Siloe autem fontem esse ad radices montis Sion, qui non jugibus aquis, sed in certis horis diebusque ebulliat, et per terrarum

ridge which runs from it towards the South; and the mention of the idol Baal limits the position of Siloam to the gardens at the mouth of the Tyropoeon and Valley of Hinnom;[1] which also corresponds to the language of Josephus. In the account of Jerome, we have the first correct mention of the irregular flow of the waters of Siloam.[2]

Siloam is mentioned both as a fountain and pool by Antoninus Martyr early in the seventh century; and as a pool by the monk Bernhard in the ninth.[3] Then come the historians of the crusades; who also place Siloam as a fountain in its present site, near the fork of two vallies. William of Tyre mentions its irregular flow; and another speaks of it both as a fountain and a pool.[4] According to Benjamin of Tudela about A. D. 1165, there was then here an ancient edifice; and Phocas in 1185 says the fountain was surrounded by arches and massive columns, with gardens below.[5] Then follow Brocardus A. D. 1283, and Marinus Sanutus A. D. 1321, who both speak of the

concava et antra saxi durissimi cum magno sonitu veniat, dubitare non possumus; nos praesertim, qui in hac habitamus provincia." Comm. in Matt. x. 28, "Idolum Baal fuisse juxta Jerusalem ad radices montis Moria, in quibus Siloe fluit, non semel legimus."

1) See above, p. 404.

2) The *Itin. Hieros.* magnifies this circumstance into a flowing for six days and nights and a resting on the seventh day. Isidore of Spain, in the seventh century, copies the account of Jerome; Etymolog. XIII. 13. 9. The same legend probably existed long before; and gave occasion to the language of Pliny, H. N. XXXI. 2, "In Judaea rivus sabbathis omnibus siccatur." Comp. Wesseling's note upon this legend, *Itiner. Hieros.* p. 592.

3) Antonini Mart. Itiner. xxiv. Bernh. Mon. de Locis Sanct. 15.

4) Will. Tyr. VIII. 4, "Juxta urbem tamen, a parte Australi, ubi duae valles praedicatae se continuant, quasi milliaro distans ab urbe, fons est quidam famosissimus, Siloe.—Fons quidem modicus, in imo vallis scaturiens, et qui nec sapidas, nec perpetuas habet aquas; interpolatum enim habens fluxum, die tantum tertia aquis dicitur ministrare." Jac. de Vitriaco c. 55. Comp. also Gesta Dei per Fr. p. 573, "Ad radicem hujus montis Syon exoritur fons aspectu liquidissimus, sed gustu amarus, quem dicunt *natatoria* Siloë; qui emittit rivulum suum in alveo ubi torrens Cedron fertur in hyeme cursu rapidissimo."

5) Benj. de Tud. ed. Barat. p. 92. Phocas de Loc. Sanct. 16.

fountain and the pool; and the latter does not forget its irregular flow. A few years later Sir John Maundeville mentions it as a "welle" at the foot of Mount Sion towards the Valley of Jehoshaphat, "clept natatorium Siloë."[1]

Thus far, all the historical notices refer only to the present Siloam, in the mouth of the valley of the Tyropoeon, which still exhibits both a fountain and a reservoir; and they all have no reference to the fountain of the Virgin Mary further up the Valley of Jehoshaphat; with which, as we have seen, the waters of Siloam stand in connection. The mention of gardens around Siloam, and of its waters as flowing down into the valley of the Kidron, is decisive on this point; for neither of these circumstances could ever have been applicable to the other fountain. Indeed, singular as the fact must certainly be accounted, there seems to be nothing which can be regarded as an allusion to the Fountain of Mary, during the long series of ages from the time of Josephus down to the latter part of the fifteenth century. At that time Tucher (A. D. 1479), Breydenbach and F. Fabri, as also Zuallardo and Cotovicus a century later, mention distinctly the two fountains of Siloam and Mary; but seem to have no knowledge of their connection.[2] This seems to have been first brought to notice by Quaresmius in the beginning of the seventeenth century.[3] The hypothesis that the Fountain of Mary is the true *Fountain* of Siloam, and the other merely the *Pool* of Siloam, which has found favour in modern times among the Franks, seems to have sprung up only in the early

1) Brocard. c. 8. Marin. San. de Secr. fid. Cruc. III. 14. 9. Sir J. Maundeville's Travels, 1839. p. 92.

2) See Reissbuch des h. Landes, ed. 2. pp. 666, 113, 256. Zuallardo Viaggio, pp. 135, 149. Cotovici Itin. pp. 292, 293. Sandys' Travels, pp. 146, 147.

3) Quaresmius, Elucid. Terr. Sanct. II. p. 289, seq.

part of the eighteenth century, and is destitute of all historical foundation. The first mention of it which I find, is in a suggestion of Pococke, A. D. 1738; and the same is expressed more definitely by Korte about the same time.[1]

The general features of Siloam have already been described,—a small deep reservoir in the mouth of the Tyropoeon, into which the water flows from a smaller basin excavated in the solid rock a few feet higher up; and then the little channel by which the stream is led off along the base of the steep rocky point of Ophel, to irrigate the terraces and gardens extending into the Valley of Jehoshaphat below.[2] The distance from the eastern point of Ophel nearest this latter valley to the said reservoir, is 255 feet. The reservoir is 53 feet long, 18 feet broad, and 19 feet deep; but the western end is in part broken down. Several columns are built into the side-walls; perhaps belonging to a former chapel, or intended to support a roof; but there is now no other appearance of important ruins in the vicinity. No water was standing in the reservoir as we saw it; the stream from the fountain only passed through and flowed off to the gardens.

The smaller upper basin or fountain is an excavation in the solid rock, the mouth of which has probably been built up, in part, in order to retain the water. A few steps lead down on the inside to the water, beneath the vaulted rock; and close at hand on the outside is the reservoir. The water finds its way out beneath the steps into the latter. This basin is perhaps five or six feet in breadth, forming merely the entrance, or rather the termination, of the long and narrow subterranean passage beyond, by which the

1) Pococke, II. pp. 23, 24. fol. Kortens Reise, pp. 111, 112.

2) See above, pp. 341, 342.

water comes from the Fountain of the Virgin. Our examination of this passage, and the character and irregular flow of the water, will be described in speaking of that fountain further on.

A rude path which follows along the west side of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, crosses the mouth of the Tyropoeon upon a causeway near the ancient mulberry-tree, which marks the legendary site of Isaiah's martyrdom.[1] Just above this causeway, the ground is lower, forming a sort of basin, which is now tilled as a garden. Here, according to the reports of travellers near the close of the sixteenth century, was formerly another larger reservoir, in the form of a parallelogram rounded off at the western end. It was dry in that age, and was probably not long after broken up; inasmuch as Quaresmius makes no distinct mention of it. Brocardus speaks also of two reservoirs, which in his day received the waters of the fountain of Siloam. Not improbably both were ancient.[2]

The Muhammedans, like the Christians, have a great veneration for this fountain; and their prophet is reported to have declared: "Zemzem and Siloah are two fountains of Paradise."[3] Yet in Christian lands the name is consecrated by stronger and holier associations; and the celebrity of

> "Siloa's brook that flowed
> Fast by the oracle of God,"

is coextensive perhaps with the spread of Christianity itself.

Fountain of the Virgin. On the west side of the

1) See above, p. 342. This tree is mentioned as "antichissimo" by Zuallardo in A. D. 1586; Viaggio, p. 135. Comp. Cotovic. Itin. p. 292. Sandys' Travels, p. 146.

2) See Zuallardo Viaggio, p. 135. Cotovic. p. 292. Quaresmius II. p. 285. Brocardus c. 8.

3) Hist. of Jerus. in Fundgr. des Orients, II. p. 130.

Valley of Jehoshaphat, eleven hundred feet northwards from the rocky point at the mouth of the Tyropoeon, is situated the Fountain of the Virgin Mary;[1] called by the natives *'Ain Um ed-Deraj*, 'Mother of Steps.' In speaking of Siloam I have already brought into view the singular fact, that there is no historical notice later than Josephus which can be applied to this fountain, before near the close of the fifteenth century; and have also mentioned the more modern hypothesis, which regards it as the *fountain* of Siloam, in distinction from the pool of that name.[2] Others have held it to be the Gihon, the Rogel, and the Dragon-well of Scripture; so that in fact it has been taken alternately for every one of the fountains, which anciently existed at Jerusalem. It is unquestionably an ancient work; indeed there is nothing in or around the Holy City, which bears more distinctly the traces of high antiquity. I have already alluded to the reasons which make it not improbable, that this was the "King's Pool" of Nehemiah, and the "Pool of Solomon" mentioned by Josephus, near which the wall of the city passed, as it ran northwards from Siloam along the Valley of Jehoshaphat to the eastern side of the temple.[3]

The cavity of this fountain is deep, running in under the western wall of the valley; and is wholly excavated in the solid rock. To enter it, one first descends sixteen steps; then comes a level place of twelve feet; and then ten steps more to the water. The steps are on an average each about ten inches high; and the whole depth therefore is about 25 feet;

1) The legend by which this name is accounted for, relates that the Virgin frequented this fountain before her purification, in order to wash her child's linen; "ad abstergendos filii sui Jesu panniculos" (clouts), as Quaresmius has it; Vol. II. p. 290.

2) See pp. 496, 497, above.

3) See p. 460, above. Nehem. ii. 14. Joseph. B. J. V. 4. 2.

or some ten or fifteen feet below the actual bottom of the valley. The basin itself is perhaps 15 feet long by 5 or 6 feet wide; the height is not more than 6 or 8 feet. The bottom is strewed with small stones; and the water flows off by a low passage at the interior extremity, leading under the mountain to Siloam. There is now no other outlet for the water; and apparently a different one never existed.

This subterranean passage is first mentioned by Quaresmius, writing about A. D. 1625.[1] He relates the unsuccessful attempt of his friend Vinhouen to explore it; and says that a Pater Julius had passed through it a few years before. But he gives no definite information respecting the canal; and is unable to say, whether the waters of Siloam come from the Fountain of Mary.[2] Notwithstanding this tolerably full notice, the canal seems to have been again forgotten, or at least overlooked, for another century. Monconys, Doubdan, le Brun, and Maundrell, all of whom were no careless observers, are wholly silent as to its existence; although they describe both the fountains.[3] Slight and imperfect notices of it again appear in the eighteenth century, and more in the nineteenth.[4] All these however are so confused and unsatisfactory, that the latest and most successful investigator of the topography of Jerusalem, declares in

1) There seems to be an allusion to the same canal in *Anselmi Descript. Terrae Sanct.* A. D. 1509, in Basnage Thesaur. Monumentor. Tom. IV. pp. 791, 792.

2) Quaresmius Elucid. Terr. Sanct. II. pp. 289, 290.

3) Von Troilo in 1666 speaks of the irregular flow of Siloam, and says, that the water comes through hidden pipes under ground; but in attempting to account for this, it does not even occur to him that there is any connection with the Virgin's fountain. Reisebeschr. Dresd. 1676, pp. 260–262.

4) Van Egmond and Heyman make the water flow from Siloam to the other fountain; Reizen, etc. I. p. 392. Comp. Pococke's Descr. of the East, II. pp. 23, 24, fol. Kortens Reise, p. 112. Chateaubriand Itin. Paris 1837, II. p. 32. Buckingham's Travels, etc. p. 188. Richardson's Travels, II. p. 357. O. v. Richter's Wallfahrten, p. 31. Sieber's Reise, p. 65. Hogg's Visit, etc. II. p. 237. etc.

A.D. 1839, that the question is yet undecided, whether the water flows from the Virgin's fountain to Siloam, or *vice versa*.[1]

We found it to be the current belief at Jerusalem, both among natives and foreigners, that a passage existed quite through between the two fountains; but no one had himself explored it, or could give any definite information respecting it. We therefore determined to examine it ourselves, should a fit opportunity occur. Repairing one afternoon (April 27th) to Siloam, in order to measure the reservoir, we found no person there; and the water in the basin being low, we embraced this opportunity for accomplishing our purpose. Stripping off our shoes and stockings and rolling our garments above our knees, we entered with our lights and measuring tapes in our hands. The water was low, nowhere over a foot in depth, and for the most part not more than three or four inches, with hardly a perceptible current. The bottom is everywhere covered with sand, brought in by the waters. The passage is cut wholly through the solid rock, everywhere about two feet wide; somewhat winding, but in a general course N. N. E. For the first hundred feet, it is from fifteen to twenty feet high; for another hundred feet or more, from six to ten feet; and afterwards not more than four feet high; thus gradually becoming lower and lower as we advanced. At the end of 800 feet, it became so low, that we could advance no further without crawling on all fours, and bringing our bodies close to the water. As we were not prepared for this, we thought it better to retreat, and try again another day from the other end. Tracing therefore upon the roof with the smoke of our

1) Crome, in Ersch u. Gruber's Encyclop. art. *Jerusalem*, p. 281. Comp. Rosenmueller's Bibl. Geog. II. ii. p. 251.

candles the initials of our names and the figures 800, as a mark of our progress on this side, we returned with our clothes somewhat wet and soiled.

It was not until three days afterwards, (April 30th,) that we were able to complete our examination and measurement of the passage. We went now to the Fountain of the Virgin; and having measured the external distance (1100 feet) down to the point East of Siloam, we concluded, that as we had already entered 800 feet from the lower end, there could now remain not over three or four hundred feet to be explored. We found the end of the passage at the upper fountain rudely built up with small loose stones, in order to retain the water at a greater depth in the excavated basin. Having caused our servants to clear away these stones, and having clothed (or rather unclothed) ourselves simply in a pair of wide Arab drawers, we entered and crawled on, hoping soon to arrive at the point which we had reached from the other fountain. The passage here is in general much lower than at the other end; most of the way we could indeed advance upon our hands and knees; yet in several places we could only get forward, by lying at full length and dragging ourselves along on our elbows.

The sand at the bottom has probably a considerable depth, thus filling up the canal in part; for otherwise it is inconceivable, how the passage could ever have been thus cut through the solid rock. At any rate, only a single person could have wrought in it at a time; and it must have been the labour of many years. There are here many turns and zigzags. In several places the workmen had cut straight forward for some distance, and then leaving this, had begun again further back at a different angle; so that there is at first the appearance of a passage branching off. We examined all these false cuts very minutely, in

the hope of finding some such lateral passage, by which water might come in from another quarter. We found, however, nothing of the kind. The way seemed interminably long; and we were for a time suspicious, that we had fallen upon a passage different from that which we had before entered. But at length, after having measured 950 feet, we arrived at our former mark of 800 feet traced with smoke upon the ceiling. This makes the whole length of the passage to be 1750 feet; or several hundred feet greater than the direct distance externally,—a result scarcely conceivable, although the passage is very winding. We came out again at the fountain of Siloam.[1]

In constructing this passage, it is obvious that the workmen commenced at both ends, and met somewhere in the middle. At the upper end, the work was carried along on the level of the upper basin; and there was a tendency to go too far towards the West under the mountain; for all the false cuts above mentioned are on the right. At the lower end, the excavation would seem to have been begun on a higher level than at present; and when on meeting the shaft from the other end, this level was found to be too high, the bottom was lowered until the water flowed through it; thus leaving the southern end of the passage much loftier than any other part. The bottom has very little descent; so that the two basins are nearly on the same level; the upper one ten feet or more below the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and the other

1) Vinhouen, the correspondent of Quaresmius, gives a very similar account of this passage, as far as he saw it. He entered from the upper end, creeping on his hands and knees, and sometimes at full length; until in a low spot his candle went out, and he could neither strike a light nor turn round except with great difficulty. At length he extricated himself and returned, "licet bene madidus et sordibus plenus." He entered again the next day at the lower end; but did not succeed in passing through the whole length. Quaresmius Elucidat. II. pp. 289, 290.

some forty feet above the same valley. The water flows through the passage gently and with little current; and I am unable to account for the "great noise" of which Jerome speaks, unless he refers perhaps to the time of the irregular ebullition of the waters.[1]

The purpose for which this difficult work was undertaken, it is not easy to discover. The upper basin must obviously have been excavated at an earlier period than the lower; and there must have been something to be gained, by thus carrying its waters through the solid rock into the valley of the Tyropoeon. If the object had been merely to irrigate the gardens which lay in that quarter, this might have been accomplished with far less difficulty and expense, by conducting the water around upon the outside of the hill. But the whole looks as if the advantage of a fortified city had been taken into the account; and as if it had been important to carry this water from one point to the other in such a way, that it could not be cut off by a besieging army. Now as this purpose would have been futile, had either of these points lain without the ancient fortifications; this circumstance furnishes an additional argument, to show that the ancient wall probably ran along the Valley of Jehoshaphat, or at least descended to it, and included both Siloam and this upper fountain; which then either constituted or supplied the "King's Pool," or "Pool of Solomon."[2]

The water in both these fountains, then, is the same; notwithstanding travellers have pronounced that of Siloam to be bad, and that of the upper fountain to be good. We drank of it often in both places.

1) See above, p. 494, Note 4.— This subterraneous passage corresponds entirely to the alleged etymological signification of the name Siloah in Hebrew, *sent*, viz. *missio aquae*, an aqueduct.

2) See above, pp. 460, 499.

It has a peculiar taste, sweetish and very slightly brackish, but not at all disagreeable. Later in the season, when the water is low, it is said to become more brackish and unpleasant. It is the common water used by the people of Kefr Selwân.[1] We did not learn that it is regarded as medicinal, or particularly good for the eyes, as is reported by travellers; though it is not improbable that such a popular belief may exist.[2]

The irregular flow of the water mentioned by writers of the earlier and middle ages as characteristic of Siloam, must of course belong equally to both fountains; except as the rush of the water towards Siloam would be nowadays impeded and diminished, by the dam of loose stones at the upper end of the passage. The earlier writers who speak of this phenomenon, have already been cited.[3] But ever since the fourteenth century, this remarkable circumstance seems to have been almost, if not entirely, overlooked by travellers. I have searched in vain through all the more important writers, from Sir John Maundeville down to the present day, without finding any distinct notice respecting it, derived from personal observation.[4] Quaresmius, who describes most fully both the fountains, is wholly silent as to any irregularity; as are also all the writers on Biblical Geography from Adri-

1) See above, p. 342.

2) Monro's Summer Ramble in Syria, I. pp. 199, 200. Comp. Cotovic. Itin. p. 292. De Salignaco in A. D. 1522 describes the water of Siloah as not only good to prevent blindness and ophthalmia, but also for other cosmetic uses: "Porro aqua fontis ipsis etiam Saracenis in pretio est, adeo ut cum naturaliter foeteant instar hircorum, hujus fontis lotione foetorem mitigant seu depellant." Tom. X. c. 1.

3) See above, pp. 491, 495.

4) Surius, Morone, von Troilo, and perhaps others, slightly mention the irregular flow; but leave it uncertain whether they speak from personal knowledge, or merely (as in so many other instances) from traditional report. Surius Pelerin, p. 400. Morone Terra Santa illustr. I. p. 225. Von Troilo's Reisebeschr. Dresd. 1676. p. 261. Nau says the water flows regularly in the fountain of the Virgin; but irregularly and at different hours in Siloam; Voyage p. 308.

chomius and Reland onward to the present time; except so far as they refer to the testimony of Jerome. Yet the popular belief in this phenomenon is still firm among the inhabitants of Jerusalem; our friends had often heard of it; but having themselves never seen the irregular flow, they regarded the story as one of the many popular legends of the country.

We were more fortunate in this respect; having been very unexpectedly witnesses of the phenomenon in question; and we are thus enabled to rescue another ancient historical fact from the long oblivion, or rather discredit, into which it had fallen for so many centuries. As we were preparing to measure the basin of the upper fountain (in the afternoon of April 30th) and explore the passage leading from it, my companion was standing on the lower step near the water, with one foot on the step and the other on a loose stone lying in the basin. All at once he perceived the water coming into his shoe; and supposing the stone had rolled, he withdrew his foot to the step; which however was also now covered with water. This instantly excited our curiosity; and we now perceived the water rapidly bubbling up from under the lower step. In less than five minutes it had risen in the basin nearly or quite a foot; and we could hear it gurgling off through the interior passage. In ten minutes more it had ceased to flow; and the water in the basin was again reduced to its former level. Thrusting my staff in under the lower step, whence the water appeared to come, I found that there was here a large hollow space; but a further examination could not be made without removing the steps.

Meanwhile a woman of Kefr Selwân came to wash at the fountain.[1] She was accustomed to frequent the

1) Some days afterwards I also found parties of soldiers washing their linen at this fountain and also at Siloam.

place every day; and from her we learned, that the flowing of the water occurs at irregular intervals; sometimes two or three times a day, and sometimes in summer once in two or three days. She said, she had seen the fountain dry, and men and flocks, dependent upon it, gathered around and suffering from thirst; when all at once the water would begin to boil up from under the steps, and (as she said) from the bottom in the interior part, and flow off in a copious stream.

In order to account for this irregularity, the common people say, that a great dragon lies within the fountain; when he is awake, he stops the water; when he sleeps, it flows. An Arab who was there, whom we had seen at the bath in the city, said that the water comes down from the fountain beneath the great mosk, of which I shall speak immediately. But how, or why? Was there perhaps originally a small and failing fountain here, to which afterwards other waters were conducted from the temple? Some supposition of this kind seems necessary, in order to account for the large excavation in this place. Is perhaps the irregular flow to be explained by some such connection with waters from above, the taste of which we found on trial to be the same? This is a mystery which former ages have not solved; and which it must be left to the researches of future travellers, under more favourable auspices, fully to unfold.

In the account of the Pool of Bethesda, situated near the Sheep [-Gate], we are told that "an angel went down at a certain season into the pool, and troubled the water;" and then whosoever first stepped in, was made whole.[1] There seems to have been here no special medicinal virtue in the water itself; but

1) John v. 2–7.

only he who *first* stepped in after the troubling, was healed. Does not this "troubling" of the water look like the irregular flow of the fountain just described? And as the Sheep-Gate seems to have been situated not far from the temple,[1] and the wall of the ancient city probably ran along this valley; may not that gate have been somewhere in this part, and this Fountain of the Virgin have been Bethesda? the same with the "King's Pool" of Nehemiah and the "Solomon's Pool" of Josephus? I suggest these questions as perhaps worthy of consideration; without having myself any definite conviction either way upon the subject.[2]

Fountain under the Grand Mosk. Not long after our arrival at Jerusalem, we were informed by our friends, that in conversation with intelligent Mussulmans they had been told of a living fountain under the Haram esh-Sherîf; from which a bath in the vicinity was in part supplied. We took up the inquiry, and received similar information from various quarters. As the Mufti of Jerusalem one day paid a visit to our host, this fountain was mentioned in the course of conversation, and he confirmed the accounts which we had previously heard. On being asked whether we could visit it; he said there would be no difficulty, and expressed a desire to afford us every facility in our researches.

We now repaired to the bath, (April 28th,) which is situated in a covered passage leading to one of the western entrances of the enclosure of the mosk. It is called Hŭmmâm esh-Shefa, "Bath of Healing," and is apparently much used by those frequenting the Haram. We were conducted through the bath, and through sev-

1) Nehem. iii. 1, 32. The Sheep-Gate was built up by the priests, who of course dwelt in and around the temple.

2) Comp. the similar conjecture of Lightfoot in regard to this subject; Opp. II. p. 588.

eral apartments and passages, to the parallel street leading to the southern entrance of the mosk; and then up a flight of steps on the left to a platform, or rather the flat roof of a low building, eighteen or twenty feet above the level of the street. Here, in a low arched room, we found two men drawing water from a narrow and deep well, in leathern buckets suspended over a pully. The depth of the well, by careful measurement, proved to be 82½ feet, or about 65 feet below the surface of the ground; the water stood in it three and a half feet deep. The distance from the well to the wall of the area of the mosk, I found to be one hundred and thirty-five feet.

The elder of the two men said that he had often been at the bottom of the well; and was willing to accompany us, if we would go down. The water he said comes to the well through a passage of masonwork, four or five feet high, from under the Sŭkhrah or grand mosk. This passage is entered from the well by a doorway; and one has to stoop a little in passing through. It leads first through a room of considerable size, arched, and supported by fourteen marble columns with capitals; and afterwards terminates in a room under the Sŭkhrah about eight or ten feet square, cut out of the solid rock; which is entered by another similar doorway. Here the water boils up from the rock in a basin at the bottom. He knew of no other passage, open or closed, from this room, nor from the main passage, by which the water could flow off; but said there was at the bottom of the well, a door closed up on the other side, leading no one knew whither. This water in dry seasons ceases to flow out into the well; and then they are obliged to descend and bring it out from the fountain by hand into the well, in order to supply the bath. There is no known way of access

to the fountain, except by descending into this well.[1] They all declared, that when the keeper of the bath takes pay of poor Muslim pilgrims for bathing, the water is miraculously stopped. We drank of the water; and found that it had the same peculiar taste, which we had remarked in the waters of Siloam and the Fountain of the Virgin in the valley below. We inquired whether this fountain had any connection with those in the valley, and were told that there was none; but when we afterwards saw the same man at the Fountain of the Virgin, he declared that there was a connection.—The above account was afterwards confirmed to us by the keeper of the bath.

Had we been prepared at the time to descend into the well and explore the fountain, we should perhaps have met with little difficulty; or at least a small *bakhshîsh* would have removed every obstacle. But when we repaired thither again three days afterwards (May 1st), with lights and a stronger rope and pully, they began to think it a matter of importance, and were unwilling to let us go down without authority from their superiors. We therefore deferred our purpose and returned home, after taking more exact measurements than before, and letting down a light into the well, which continued to burn brightly quite to the bottom. The bath-keeper afterwards consulted the Mutawelly of the Haram, who said he would ask the opinion of the council. But as this would give to the matter a greater notoriety than was desirable;

1) I have since been informed by Mr. Catherwood, that just within the western entrance of the Great Mosk itself, at the right hand, is a deep well, from which water is drawn for ablutions. He suggests, that this well or fountain may possibly have some connection with that described in the text, if it be not the same. But this would not accord with the information received by us from the Mufti and people at the bath, as well as from other independent sources.

and as the Mufti had already told us, that there would be no objection to our descending; we preferred making the application directly to him. He was accordingly waited upon; but unfortunately at an unpropitious moment, when he was surrounded by several Muhammedan doctors and others; and his reply was, that the thing was not in his hands, but if we would get permission and a Kawwâs (Janizary) from the governor, there would be no difficulty. Had he been alone, he might perhaps have given a different answer. Perceiving that under the circumstances, it would probably be unavailing to press the matter further at the moment, we thought it better to wait and apply at a later period to the Kâim Makâm, or military governor, who probably would have at once granted our request. But when we afterwards returned to the city from our excursions, the prevalence of the plague and other circumstances combined to hinder us from making the application; and we were reluctantly compelled to forego the further prosecution of this interesting inquiry.

However imperfect or exaggerated the preceding account may be in several respects, there seems no reason for doubt as to the main fact, viz. that there exists in the heart of the rock, at the depth of some eighty feet underneath the Haram, an artificial fountain; the water of which has the same essential characteristics, as that flowing out at the artificial excavations in the valley below. This fountain naturally reminds us of that mentioned by Tacitus,[1] and still more strongly of the language of Aristaeas; who in describing the ancient temple, informs us that "the supply of water was unfailing, inasmuch as there was an abundant natural fountain flowing in the interior, and reservoirs of admirable construction under ground,

1) "Fons perennis aquae, cavati sub terra montes;" Hist. V. 12. See this more fully quoted above, p. 452, Note 3.

extending five stadia around the temple, with pipes and conduits unknown to all except those to whom the service was intrusted, by which the water was brought to various parts of the temple and again conducted off,"[1] This account is also doubtless exaggerated. Yet all the circumstances taken together render it not improbable, that there may be some hidden channel, by which the waters of the fountain beneath the mosk are carried down to the valley below. From what quarter they are first brought into this excavated chamber, is a question which presents no less difficulty. There seems little reason to doubt that the whole work is artificial; and we may perhaps reasonably conjecture, that it stood in some connection with the ancient fountain of Gihon on the higher ground west of the city.

Fountain of Gihon. The place to which Solomon was brought from Jerusalem to be anointed, was called Gihon; but the direction of it from the city is not specified.[2] At a later period we are told of king Hezekiah, that he "stopped the upper water-course [or upper out-flow of the waters] of Gihon, and brought it down to the west side of the city of David."[3] It is said too that "he took counsel with his princes and his mighty men to stop the waters of the fountains which were without the city;—and there was gathered much people together, who stopped all the fountains and the brook that ran through the midst of the

1) Aristae. de Leg. div. Transl. p. 112, in Joseph. Opp. Tom. II. Append. ed. Havercamp, ὕδατος δὲ ἀνέκλειπτός ἐστι ἡ σύστασις, ὡς ἂν καὶ πηγῆς ἔσωθεν πολυῤῥύτου φυσικῶς ἐπιῤῥεούσης κ. τ. λ. See also Adrichomius, p. 160. Quaresmius II. p. 292. Lightfoot Opp. I. p. 612.—Yet it is perhaps doubtful, whether an actual fountain is here meant in the passage from Aristaeas; or only a constant flow of water from an aqueduct, *as if* from a natural fountain. Lightfoot understands the language in the latter way.

2) 1 Kings i. 33, 38.

3) 2 Chron. xxxii. 30. Comp. also xxxiii. 14.

land, saying, why should the kings of Assyria come, and find much water?"[1] The Son of Sirach also informs us, that "Hezekiah strengthened his city, and brought in water into the midst of it; he dug with iron into the rock, and built fountains for the waters."[2] Josephus mentions also the fountain of Gihon.[3] From all these passages I am unable to arrive at any other conclusion, than that there existed anciently a fountain Gihon on the west of the city, which was "stopped" or covered over by Hezekiah, and its waters brought down by subterranean channels into the city. Before that time it would naturally have flowed down through the valley of Gihon or Hinnom; and probably it formed the "brook" which was stopped at the same time.

The fountain may have been stopped and its waters thus secured very easily, by digging deep and erecting over it one or more vaulted subterranean chambers. Something of the very same kind is still seen at the fountain near Solomon's Pools beyond Bethlehem; where the water rises in subterranean chambers, to which there is no access except down a narrow shaft like a well.[4] In this way the waters of Gihon would be withdrawn from the enemy, and preserved to the city; in which they would seem to have been distributed among various reservoirs and fountains. The present Pool of Hezekiah was probably one; and the fountain above described under the temple may have been another. Josephus also speaks of an aqueduct which conveyed water to the tower of Hippicus, and of one connected with Herod's palace on Zion;[5] both of which would naturally have come from Gihon or its reservoir.

1) 2 Chron. xxxii. 3, 4. Similar precautions were taken by the Muhammedans on the first approach of the crusaders to Jerusalem; Will. Tyr. VIII. 7.

2) Sirac. xlviii. 17. [19.] Cod. Alex.

3) Joseph. Antiq. VII. 14. 5.

4) See under date of May 8th.

5) Joseph. B. J. V. 7. 3. II. 17. 9.

All these circumstances, as well as the nature of the ground, seem to leave little room for doubt, that an open fountain did anciently thus exist somewhere in the vicinity of the upper Pool on the West of the city; the waters of which may still continue to flow by subterranean channels down to the ancient temple, and perhaps to Siloam. This fountain of course was Gihon.[1] But to arrive at entire certainty upon the subject, extensive excavations in this part would probably be necessary; and we may hope that the day is not far distant, when these may be set on foot without hindrance.

The Dragon fountain mentioned by Nehemiah, was overagainst the Valley-Gate; and there seems therefore good reason to suppose, that this was only another name for the fountain of Gihon.[2]

THE AQUEDUCT. The course of the Aqueduct which brings water from Solomon's Pools to the great mosk, has already been described, from the point where it crosses the Valley of Hinnom and winds around the sides of Zion.[3] We did not ourselves see its termination in the area of the mosk; but the unanimous testimony both of Muhammedans and Christians leaves no doubt upon this point. It probably enters

1) For a similar view, see Crome in Ersch and Gruber's Encycl. art. *Jerusalem*, p. 288. In this way the connection between Gihon and Siloam, which some have assumed, may still be true; see Gesenius Lex. Heb. art. שִׁלֹחַ. Quaresmius II. p. 288.—Others have regarded Gihon and Siloam as identical; on the ground that in 1 Kings i. 33, 38, the Targum of Jonathan substitutes Siloam for Gihon. But as this Targum is held to be not older than the close of the second century after Christ, when the correct tradition was probably lost, this circumstance can weigh little against the express language of 2 Chron. xxxii. 30; supported as it is by vs. 3, 4 of the same chapter, and by Sirac. xlviii. 17. [19.] Nor is the expression "*down* to Gihon" in 1 Kings i. 33 inconsistent with the view in the text; for in passing from Zion to Gihon on the West, there is first a somewhat steep descent, and then a gradual rise; and this descent was probably in ancient times still more marked.

2) Nehem. ii. 13. See p. 473, above.

3) See above, p. 390.

the Haram across the mound already described.[1] In passing along the road to Bethlehem, the aqueduct is seen from the plain of Rephaim on the left; and again on approaching Bethlehem, on the low ridge between Wady Ahmed at the right and the head of another Wady at the left. Here water was running in it. It winds eastwards around the hill on which Bethlehem stands; and on the southern side, beyond the town, lies at some depth below the surface. Here is a well, or rather reservoir, through which it flows; whence the water is drawn up with buckets. The channel is usually conducted along the surface of the ground; and has an appearance of antiquity. For some distance from the Pools it is laid with earthen pipes enclosed and covered with stones; but afterwards, apparently, it consists merely of stones laid in cement, forming a small channel of perhaps a foot in breadth and depth. Of course, being thus exposed, it could never benefit the city in a time of siege.

That the aqueduct is ancient, is also probable from the character and enormous size of the Pools themselves, which could not well have been erected on such a scale for any purpose, except to aid in furnishing the ordinary supply of water for the Holy City. They may indeed have served also to irrigate gardens in the valley below; but this could hardly have been their main object. Yet there is no mention of them in the Scriptures. Later Jewish writers, however, as cited in the Talmud, speak often of the manner in which the temple was supplied with water by an aqueduct from the fountain of Etham, which lay at a distance from the city on the way to Hebron.[2] This notice

1) See above, p. 393.

2) See Lightfoot Descr. Templi Hieros. c. 23, Opp. I. p. 612. Ejusd. Disq. chorogr. Joanni praemissa c. v. §5. Opp. II. p. 589.— In 2 Chr. xi. 6, "Bethlehem and Etam and Tekoa" are placed together. Comp. Reland Palaest. p. 304, 558, *Aitam.*

could not well have been an invention of their own; corresponding as it does to the mention of an Etham by Josephus, not far from Jerusalem, which Solomon is said to have adorned with gardens and streams of water.[1] Those writers doubtless refer to an aqueduct which of old, as at the present day, connected those ancient reservoirs with the temple of Jerusalem.

This aqueduct seems not to be mentioned by any of the pilgrims of the earlier centuries, nor by the writers of the times of the crusades.[2] The first direct though imperfect allusion to it, which I have been able to find, is in the Itineraries of William of Baldensel and Rudolph de Suchem (A. D. 1336—50), who speak of the cisterns of Jerusalem as being filled with water brought under ground from Hebron, which however could be seen along the way. A similar allusion occurs in Gumpenberg's Journal A. D. 1449. A fuller notice is given by F. Fabri in 1483; but Cotovicus a century later (A. D. 1598), is apparently the first to make known both the pools and aqueduct with tolerable exactness.[3] Since that time the pools have been often described; while the aqueduct has usually passed over with a slight notice.[4]

X. CEMETERIES, TOMBS, ETC.

The four Christian cemeteries upon Mount Zion have already been described;[5] as also the three burial-places of the Muhammedans; one along the eastern wall of the city next the Haram esh-Sherîf; another

1) Antiq. VIII. 7. 3.

2) Perhaps a trace of it may be found in the remark of Adamnanus, (I. 17,) that in going from the Gate of David down the valley, with Mount Zion on the left, there was a stone bridge crossing the valley on arches. This answers to the aqueduct, which here crosses on nine very low arches.

3) See Reissb. des h. Landes, Ed. 2. pp. 843, 461, 283. Cotovici Itin. pp. 241—243. Zuallardo, twelve years earlier, seems to speak only from report; p. 235.

4) Comp. the art. *Jerusalem* by Crome, p. 280, in Ersch and Gruber's Encycl.

5) See above, pp. 337—341.

on the West near the Upper Pool, and the third over the grotto of Jeremiah on the North.[1] The present cemetery of the Jews lies on the western slope of the Mount of Olives, near the foot, just above the Tombs of Absalom and Zacharias. Here, overagainst their ancient temple, many wanderers of that remarkable people come to mingle their bones with those of their fathers; awaiting the great day foretold as they suppose by their prophets, when the Lord shall stand upon the Mount of Olives, and the mountain shall cleave asunder, and the dead of Israel shall rise from beneath it, and all nations be judged in the valley, and Israel be avenged.[2] The slope of the mountain is here thickly covered with their graves, each decked simply with a stone laid flat upon it; on which is usually a Hebrew inscription.

SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS. Under this term I here include only the four tombs or monumental sepulchres situated in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, on the east side of the Kidron, and opposite to the S. E. corner of the area of the Grand Mosk. These are commonly described as the Tombs of Jehoshaphat, Absalom, St. James, and Zacharias. This I believe to be the most usual order of the names, beginning from the North; but the tradition of the monks, as well as the judgment of travellers, has varied much at different times; so that these names have been frequently applied to the tombs in a different and very uncertain order.[3] Those of Absalom and Zacharias,

1) See above, pp. 343, 345, 352.

2) Zech. xiv. 3—11. Joel iii. [iv.] 2, 12, 14, 20. Lightfoot Cent. chor. Matthaeo praem. c. 40. Opp. II. p. 201.

3) The order in the text is that given by Quaresmius, II. p. 249, seq. and also by Van Egmond and Heyman and by Pococke, a century later. The same appears on monastic authority in Catherwood's Plan of Jerusalem, 1835. Cotovicus gives the same order in his text, though there is an error in his engraving; p. 294, seq.— Prokesch on the other hand applies the names of Jehoshaphat and Zacharias to those above called Zacharias and St. James; Reise, p. 70. Comp. Schubert's Reise, II. p. 524, note.

here so called, are real monuments of rock; the other two are only excavated tombs with ornamented portals.

These tombs are situated in the narrowest part of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, where a shelf or ledge of rock extends down from the East, and terminates in an almost perpendicular face just over the bed of the Kidron. The tomb of Zacharias on the South, so called in allusion to the person "slain between the temple and the altar,"[1] lies directy beneath the S. E. corner of the area of the ancient temple, and is wholly hewn out from the rocky ledge above mentioned. It is a square block, about twenty feet on each side; the rock having been cut away around it so as to form a square niche or area, in which it stands isolated, leaving a broad passage all around it. The body of the tomb is about eighteen or twenty feet high, and apparently solid; at least no chamber or entrance is known. The sides are decorated each with two columns and two half columns; the latter adjacent to square pilasters at the corners, and all having capitals of the Ionic order. Around the cornice is an ornament of acanthus leaves, about three feet high; and above this the top is formed by an obtuse pyramid of ten or twelve feet in height. The whole monument has thus an elevation of about thirty feet; and, with all its ornaments, is wholly cut out from the solid rock.[2]

Just North of this is the excavated cavern into which the apostle James is said to have retired, during the interval between the crucifixion and resurrection of our Lord;[3] but which in common parlance bears the name of his sepulchre. The entrance is by an open portal with three or four Doric columns, fronting

1) Matth. xxiii. 35. Luke xi. 51.

2) Prokesch describes this tomb under the name of Jehoshaphat: see his Reise, p. 70. Comp. also Turner's Tour in the Levant, II. p. 251.

3) Quaresmius II. p. 258.

towards the West, and situated ten or fifteen feet above the ground in the same ledge of rock. The cavern is said to be fifteen feet high and ten broad, and to extend back some fifty feet. There is another entrance to it from the niche around the adjacent tomb of Zacharias.[1]

The tomb of Absalom is close by the lower bridge over the Kidron; and is a square isolated block hewn out from the rocky ledge, in the same manner as that of Zacharias, leaving a like area or niche around it. The body of this tomb is about twenty-four feet square; and is ornamented on each side with two columns and two half columns of the Ionic order, with pilasters at the corners, like the former tomb. The architrave exhibits triglyphs and Doric ornaments. The elevation is about eighteen or twenty feet to the top of the architrave, and thus far it is wholly cut from the rock. But the adjacent rock is here not so high as at the tomb of Zacharias; and therefore the upper part of this tomb, has been carried up with mason-work of large stones. This consists first of two square layers; of which the upper one is smaller than the lower; and then a small dome or cupola runs up into a low spire, which spreads a little at the top like an opening flower. This mason-work is perhaps twenty feet high; giving to the whole an elevation of about forty feet. There is a small excavated chamber in the body of the tomb; into which a hole had already been broken through one of the sides, several centuries ago.[2]

Behind this tomb, at the N. E. corner of its niche,

1) Turner, l. c. p. 252. Prokesch, l. c. p. 70.

2) See Prokesch, l. c. p. 70. The hole is mentioned by Quaresmius, II. p. 249.—Chateaubriand's description of this monument exhibits a specimen of his usual inaccuracy. According to him there are six columns on each side, all of the Doric order; while the top, he says, is built up in the form of a triangular pyramid! Itin. II. p. 77. Par. 1837.

is the portal of the excavated sepulchre of Jehoshaphat. It is in the perpendicular face of the niche; and is of course a later work than the tomb before it. The portal is surmounted by a fine pediment resting (I think) on square pilasters. The tomb itself is wholly subterranean.

It is not necessary to waste words here, to show that these tombs never had any thing to do with the persons whose names they bear. The style of architecture and embellishment would seem to indicate, that they are of a later period than most of the other countless sepulchres round about the city; which, with few exceptions, are destitute of architectural ornament. Yet the foreign ecclesiastics who crowded to Jerusalem in the fourth century, found these monuments here; and of course, it became an object to refer them to persons mentioned in the Scriptures. Yet from that day to this, tradition seems never to have become fully settled, as to the individuals whose names they should bear. The *Itin. Hieros.* in A. D. 333, speaks of the two monolithic monuments as the tombs of Isaiah and Hezekiah.[1] Adamnanus, about A. D. 697, mentions only one of these, and calls it the tomb of Jehoshaphat; near to which were the two excavated sepulchres of Simeon the Just and Joseph the husband of Mary.[2] The historians of the crusades appear not to have noticed these tombs. The first mention of a tomb of Absalom, is by Benjamin of Tudela, who gives to the other the name of king Uzziah; and from that time to the present day, the accounts of travellers have been varying and inconsistent.[3]

1) Itin. Hieros. ed. Wesseling, p. 595.

2) Adamnanus I. 14.

3) Benj. de Tud. par Baratier, p. 92. Marinus Sanutus speaks only of the tomb of Jehoshaphat; III. 14. 9; Rud. de Suchem and Breydenbach name only that of Absalom, etc. See Reissb. des h. Landes, pp. 846, 113. Sir John Maundeville mentions the tomb of Jehoshaphat, and further South those of St. James and Zacharias; p. 96. Lond. 1839.

The intermingling of the Greek orders, and a spice of the massive Egyptian taste, which are visible in these monuments, serve also to show, that they belong to a late period of the Greek and Roman art; and especially to that style of mingled Greek and Egyptian, which prevailed in the oriental provinces of the Roman empire. The chief seat of this style was perhaps at Petra; where it still appears in much of its pristine character, in the very remarkable excavations of Wady Mûsa. When we visited that place some weeks afterwards, we were much struck at finding there several isolated monuments, the counterparts of the monolithic tombs in the Valley of Jehoshaphat.[1] The architectural remains of Petra are not held, I believe, to be in general older than the Christian era; nor is there any reason to suppose that the Jewish monuments in question, are of an earlier date. Indeed, if they existed prior to the destruction of Jerusalem, they are probably to be referred to the times of the Herods; who themselves were of Idumaean descent, and maintained an intercourse between Petra and Jerusalem.[2] In that age too, as we know, other foreigners of rank repaired to Jerusalem, and erected for themselves mansions and sepulchres.[3] It would not therefore be difficult to account in this way, for the resemblance between these monuments and those of Petra.

Or, if the entire silence of Josephus and other cotemporary writers as to these tombs, be regarded as an objection to this hypothesis, why may they not perhaps be referred to the time of Adrian? This emperor appears to have been a patron of Petra; he also built

1) See our approach to Wady Mûsa, under May 31st. Also Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, etc. p. 422. Of these monuments Laborde has given no account whatever.

2) Herod the Tetrarch married the daughter of Aretas, king of Arabia Petraea; Joseph. Ant. XVIII. 5. 1. Comp. B. J. I. 6. 2.

3) Joseph. Ant. XX. 4. 3. B. J. V. 6. 1. VI. 6. 3, 4.

up Jerusalem; and both these cities were called after his name.[1] It would therefore not be unnatural, that this period should be marked in both places by monuments possessing a similar architectural character.

SEPULCHRES. The numerous sepulchres which skirt the vallies on the North, East, and South of Jerusalem, exhibit for the most part one general mode of construction. A door in the perpendicular face of the rock, usually small and without ornament, leads to one or more small chambers excavated from the rock, and commonly upon the same level with the door. Very rarely are the chambers lower than the doors. The walls in general are plainly hewn; and there are occasionally, though not always, niches or resting places for the dead bodies. In order to obtain a perpendicular face for the door, advantage was sometimes taken of a former quarry; or an angle was cut in the rock with a tomb in each face; or a square niche or area was hewn out in a ledge, and then tombs excavated in all three of its sides. All these expedients are seen particularly in the northern part of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and near the Tombs of the Judges. Many of the doors and fronts of the tombs along this valley are now broken away, leaving the whole of the interior exposed.

Of this multitude of sepulchres, those on the South of the Valley of Hinnom seem to be in general the best preserved; with the exception of the tombs of the Judges and Kings, which will be described separately. On the north side of Hinnom, along Mount Zion, there are, I think, no sepulchres; and the same is the case on the west side of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, so far as the ancient city extended along it. Nor do they

1) Coins of Petra are found with the inscription: *Αδριανη Πετρα Μητροπολις.* Eckhel Doctr. Numor. vet. Tom. II. p. 503.

appear anywhere in the latter valley, below the junction of the Valley of Hinnom.

Tombs South of Hinnom. These I visited in company with Messrs. Smith, Whiting, and Nicolayson, on the 3d of May. Two Jews were with us; one of whom, called Hillel, had been in the East Indies, and had published a book full of extravagant descriptions of Jerusalem. He professed to have discovered several Hebrew inscriptions among the tombs, and undertook to lead us to them. We went first to the top of the hill, to the Villa of Caiphas, so called; and then descending northwards, and somewhat to the West of the path which passes down from Zion and crosses the Valley of Hinnom, we came among the tombs. Here, the side of the hill, as it rises from the valley, is for the most part perpendicular rock from twenty to forty feet high, with other rocky ledges higher up; and the face of the hill is full of sepulchres along the whole extent of the valley. One of the first tombs we came to, had on the side of the entrance a long Hebrew inscription, well cut, in the ordinary modern character; but so defaced by time that only a few separate words could be made out. We could be certain only of the following:

. . . . . יום
. . . . . שנה
. . . ממשלת אדונו המלך . .

The next word contained the letter *Sin* (ש), from which our companion Hillel was greatly inclined to make out the name of Solomon. We regretted much that the date had become so hopelessly obliterated. The existence and state of this inscription, and the form of the character, seem to prove that the Jews must have buried here during the middle ages. Indeed, Benjamin of Tudela seems to allude to these

sepulchres, when he speaks of Jewish cemeteries on the same side of the city as Mount Zion; among which, he says, there was one tomb with its date inscribed.[1]

Our guide now took us to another tomb near by, where he said there were inscriptions inside in large Hebrew characters. But what he had taken for Hebrew letters, proved to be only fortuitous scratches or marks in the rock. A little further down, we came upon a tomb with a Greek inscription over the entrance, to which a cross was prefixed:

† *THC AΓIAC*
CIWN

Not far off was another with the same letters and cross, but much defaced. Close by the former was also a tomb with a Greek inscription of some length, now illegible; and in this quarter were two or three others, apparently in the same language, but too much obliterated to be made out.[2] The inscription in Phenician characters mentioned by Dr. Clarke, we did not see.[3]

Following down the side of the valley, and passing sepulchres and caverns without number, we came to the place shown as the *Aceldama* or Field of Blood.[4] The tradition which fixes it upon this spot, reaches back to the age of Jerome; and it is mentioned by almost every visitor of the Holy City from that time to the present day.[5] The field or plat is not now marked by any boundary to distinguish it from the

1) Benj. de Tud. par Barat. p. 93. I presume the inscription in the text is the same which Scholz professes to have copied; Reise, p. 179. He appears to have made out much more of it than we could.

2) These are apparently the same of which Scholz has professedly given copies; Reise, pp. 179, 180.

3) Clarke's Travels in the Holy Land, 4to. p. 555.

4) Matth. xxvii. 7, 8. Acts i. 19.

5) Onomast. art. *Acheldamach.* Eusebius places it on the *North* of the city; Jerome on the *South.* Whether this discrepancy arises from a change in the tradition, or an error in transcription, cannot now be determined.—See also Antonin. Mart. 26. Adamnanus I. 20. Edrîsi ed. Jaub. p. 345. Will. Tyr. VIII. 2. Brocardus, c. 8. Rud. de Suchem, pp. 847, 848.

rest of the hill-side; and the former charnel-house, now a ruin, is all that remains to point out the site. It is a long massive building of stone, erected in front apparently of a natural cave; with a roof arched the whole length, and the walls sunk deep below the ground outside, forming a deep pit or cellar within. An opening at each end enabled us to look in; but the bottom was empty and dry, except a few bones much decayed.

This plat of ground, originally bought "to bury strangers in," seems to have been early set apart by the Latins and even by the crusaders themselves, as a place for the burial of pilgrims.[1] Sir J. Maundeville in the fourteenth century says, that "in that Feld ben manye Tombes of Cristene Men; for there ben manye Pilgrymes graven." He is also the first to mention the charnel-house, which then belonged to the Hospital of St. John.[2] In the beginning of the seventeenth century, Quaresmius describes it as belonging to the Armenians; who sold the right of interment here at a high price.[3] In Maundrell's day dead bodies were still deposited in it; and Korte relates, that in his time it was the usual burial-place of pilgrims.[4] Dr. Clarke repeats the same story in the beginning of this century; but at present it has the appearance of having been for a much longer time abandoned.[5] The soil of this spot was long believed to have the power of consuming dead bodies in the space of twenty-four hours. On this account shiploads of it are said to have been carried away in A.

1) Jac. de Vitr. Hist. Hieros. 64.
2) Travels, pp. 93, 94. Lond. 1839. Rud. de Such. pp. 846, 847.
3) Elucid. II. p. 285.
4) Maundrell's Journey, Apr. 6th. Kortens Reise, p. 110. See too Pococke II. p. 25. fol.
5) Travels in the Holy Land, 4to. p. 567. That corpses were still thrown into this place so late as 1818, as related by Richardson, is barely possible; Travels, etc. II. p. 355.

D. 1218, in order to cover over the famous Campo Santo in Pisa.[1] Ten years before our visit, I had listened to the same story within the walls of that remarkable cemetery.

Not far from this place, lower down the hill, we came to a tomb which had once been painted in the interior. Traces of the painting still remain upon the ceiling and walls; but they consist chiefly of glories around the heads of Greek saints, without value either in a historical or archæological respect. I suppose this to be the tomb usually shown by the monks, as the place where the apostles hid themselves after the arrest of Jesus.[2] Still more to the East, and not far from the corner of the hill near the Valley of Jehoshaphat, we entered a sepulchre which was said to have been recently opened. The entrance was low under the surface of the ground,—an upright door with a descent to it by steps. It led into an ante-room excavated in the rock, having an arched ceiling or dome, with doors in the three sides, opening into five or six side-chambers. In these are seen low sarcophagi, or rather hollow couches, left in the same rock along the sides; in which were still many bones and skulls, the relics of their former tenants.

In general, it may be said of these sepulchres, as well as of most of those around Jerusalem, that they exhibit little which is remarkable, except their number. In none of them, save in the Tombs of the Kings, have regular sarcophagi ever been found, either plain or sculptured. The manner in which the work is executed, exhibits for the most part any thing but skill; and with the exception of the monuments in the Valley of Jehoshaphat and the Tombs of the Kings, there is nothing which can be compared, either with the

1) Raumer's Paläst. Edit. 2. p. 300. Pococke's Descr. of the East, II. p. 25, fol.

2) Quaresmius Tom. II. p. 283. Maundrell, Apr. 6th.

architectural decorations of the sepulchres at Petra, or with the interior magnificence of the ancient Egyptian tombs.[1]

Tombs of the Judges. Passing now from the Valley of Hinnom to the very head of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, we find there the Tombs of the Judges, half an hour distant from the Damascus Gate. In approaching them along the valley, the rocks on each side are full of ordinary sepulchres; and it is not until one has crossed the water-shed, and begins slightly to descend towards the Wady Beit Hanîna, that he reaches these tombs.[2] They are situated just on the East of the path; and are entered by a not large portico under a fine pediment, sculptured with flowers and leaves. From the middle of the portico, a door larger than in most sepulchres leads into an ante-chamber eighteen or twenty feet square. In the north side of this room are two rows of deep narrow niches or crypts for dead bodies, one above the other; the crypts running in perpendicular to the wall, and being just large enough to receive a corpse; the side of the room, as Sandys says, being "cut full of holes in manner of a dove-house." On the east and south sides of the ante-chamber, small doors lead to two other apartments, each about twelve feet square, in both of which three of the sides have similar crypts below and a larger niche above, as if for a sarcophagus. At the N. E. and S. W. corners of the ante-room. a few steps lead down through the floor to a lower apartment in each corner, of like form and dimensions. It is not improbable, that similar apartments may exist under the other two corners of the ante-room, the entrances to which are now covered with stones

1) See Note XXVI, at the end of the volume.

2) See above, pp. 355, 397.

and rubbish.[1] In the chambers now open we counted about sixty of these deep narrow niches or crypts. We took here no measurements, and made no minute examination.

I have been able to find no notice of these tombs earlier than the time of Cotovicus, A. D. 1598, who gives them no name. Sandys in A. D. 1611, calls them the "Sepulchre of the Prophets."[2] Quaresmius first describes them under the present name; and they have not often been mentioned by later travellers.[3] That writer refers them to the Hebrew Judges of the Old Testament. But the name, however it arose, more probably had reference to the judges of the Jewish Sanhedrim; and was applied in consequence of a fancied correspondence between the number of the narrow crypts, and the seventy members who composed that tribunal.

Tomb of Helena, commonly called Tombs of the Kings. About one hundred and seventy-five rods North of the Damascus Gate, on the right of the Nâbulus road, just as it begins to decend towards the Valley of Jehoshaphat, is situated the remarkable sepulchre usually called the Tombs of the Kings.[4] The construction is as follows. A large square pit or court is sunk in the solid rock, which here forms the level surface of the ground. The direction of the sides, as taken from the South, is N. by W. measuring $92\frac{2}{3}$ feet; while the other two sides measure eighty-seven feet. The depth of the court is now eighteen feet; but the bottom is obviously much filled up. In order

1) Both Cotovicus and Doubdan seem to say, that there is a chamber still lower down, a third story, which is entered in like manner by steps from the second. Cotovici Itin. p. 317. Doubdan Voyage, etc. p. 116.

2) Cotovici Itin. p. 317. Sandys' Travels, Lond. 1658, p. 136.

3) Quaresmius Elucid. Terr. Sanct. II. p. 728. Monconys I. p. 319. Doubdan, p. 115. Pococke Descr. of the East, II. p. 48. fol.

4) See above, p. 354.

to form an entrance to this court, a broad trench of the same depth, thirty-two feet in width, was cut parallel to the southern side, leaving between it and the court a solid wall of rock seven feet thick. The western end of this trench slopes down very gradually to the bottom, forming a commodious descent, while towards the eastern end, an arched passage is cut through the intervening wall, from the trench into the court. The sides of the court are perpendicular, and hewn smooth.

In the western wall of this sunken court, a portico or hall has been excavated from the solid rock, measuring in the interior thirty-nine feet long, by seventeen wide and fifteen high. The open front or portal was originally twenty-seven feet in length; but is now broken away in parts for a greater distance. The sides of this portal were once ornamented with columns or pilasters; and there were also two intermediate columns now broken down, dividing the whole portal into three nearly equal parts. The rock above is elegantly sculptured in the later Roman style. Over the centre of the portal are carved large clusters of grapes between garlands of flowers, intermingled with Corinthian capitals and other decorations; below which is tracery-work of flowers and fruits extending quite across the portal and hanging down along the sides. This is the finest specimen of sculpture existing in or around Jerusalem.

At the south end of the interior portico or hall, near the inner corner, is the low entrance to the excavated chambers. If I recollect aright, the top of this entrance is little if any above the level of the floor; a passage being sunk in the latter by which to descend and reach it; so that if this passage were filled up to its former level, all traces of an entrance might be easily concealed. At present this passage and the door are greatly obstructed by loose stones

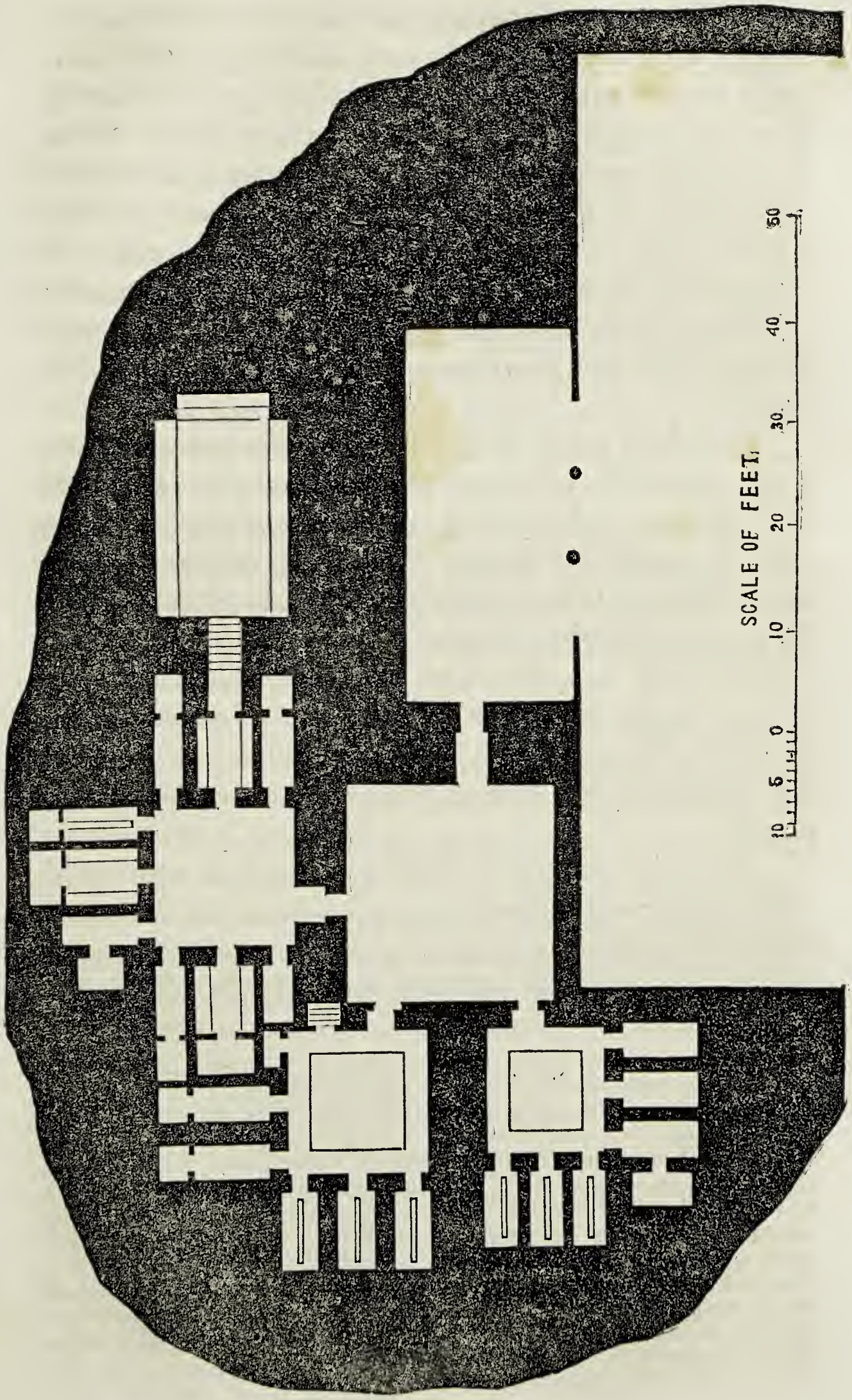
casually thrown in, which no one takes the trouble to clear away; so that the entrance is difficult, affording only room to pass in upon the hands and knees.

The first room is merely an ante-chamber, 18½ feet by 19, containing nothing. The walls here, as in all the other rooms, consist of the solid rock, hewn smooth but not polished. The ceiling slopes upwards a little from the two sides, forming a sort of roof. On the south side of this room are two low entrances to other apartments; and on the west side, one. These entrances were once closed by stone doors with carved panels, shutting from within; the doors have been thrown down and broken, and the fragments still lie around. They were suspended by tenons above and below, fitted to corresponding sockets in the rock; the lower tenon being of course short. One of these doors was still hanging in Maundrell's day, and "did not touch its lintel by at least two inches."[1]

The first room on the left or S. E. from the antechamber, measures 11 feet 2 inches by 12 feet. On the eastern and southern sides are small low niches or crypts, three on a side, running in perpendicular to the wall, with narrow entrances, intended as a place of deposit for dead bodies, and exhibiting nothing worthy of particular remark. Along the sides of the room there is a small channel cut in the floor, to carry off the drippings from the damp walls; and a similar arrangement is found in the other chambers.

The second room on the south of the antechamber and adjacent to the one just described, is 13 feet by 13⅓; and has also six small crypts or chambers in its southern and western sides, three in each. But

1) Maundrell's Journey, March 28th. Similar doors are described by Dr. Clarke in the remarkable excavated sepulchres at Telmessus on the southern coast of Asia Minor; Travels, etc. 4to. Part II. Vol. I. p. 252. So also in the sepulchres near Beisân; Irby and Mangles, p. 302.



South.

they differ somewhat from those of the former apartment; the middle crypt on each of the two sides having a higher entrance, being itself larger, and having also beyond it another smaller recess or tomb. Moreover, from one of these or a like recess a few steps lead down to still another and lower tomb, or low square vault, with a large niche on three sides, in which once stood sarcophagi of white marble, elegantly sculptured with flowers and wreaths. These are now broken; and the fragments strewed around upon the floors.

The third room, on the West of the antechamber, was apparently the most important of all. It is 13¼ feet square; and has three crypts on each of its three sides towards the South, West and North. These are similar to those of the second room; except that they are somewhat larger. The middle one indeed on each side is quite large, with each an interior recess or tomb as before. From one of these again, (that on the north side,) steps lead down to another low vault, like the former, with similar marble sarcophagi.[1]

The four chambers thus described as connected with the present entrance, are all situated at the south end of the portico; and only the lower vault belonging to the westernmost extends northwards for a distance behind it. Thus all the rock around the north-

1) By the kindness of Mr. Catherwood, I am enabled to lay before the reader the accompanying plan of these Tombs, drawn out from his own measurements in 1833. The lower vault connected with the S. W. chamber is not laid down; the steps leading to it are marked on the north side of the room. The other lower vault on the N. of the westernmost chamber, strikes me as being perhaps too large; but we did not measure it. Only a part of the sunken court is given; and no attempt is made to represent the parallel trench on the South. Of former plans of these Tombs, Niebuhr's seems to me to be the best; Reisebeschr. Bd. III. But a lower vault (*h*) which he lays down on the northern side of the anteroom, we did not see. Pococke's Plan is less accurate, (Vol. II. p. 21,) and was obviously drawn from recollection. The sketch of Irby and Mangles (p. 332) is copied from Pococke.

ern part of the portico remains apparently unexcavated. The question naturally arose in our minds, whether a work of such magnificence, and of such labour and expense, would probably have been left thus incomplete; and it occurred to us, whether another like entrance to similar chambers might not exist at the other end of the portico, or in the middle, where the area has been filled up with stones and rubbish apparently for ages. We accordingly set men to work under the direction of our active servant Komeh, to clear away the accumulated rubbish from the northern end; and frequently visited the spot ourselves. They laboured for several days, and laid bare the floor of rock at the bottom; but without finding the slightest trace of any entrance. Yet I would not aver that such an entrance may not after all actually exist; having been perhaps purposely concealed in the manner above suggested.[1]

This splendid sepulchre, with its sunken court, reminded me of some of the tombs of the Egyptian Thebes; which also it resembles in its workmanship, but not in the extent of its excavations. In its elegant portal and delicate sculpture, it may well bear comparison with the sepulchres of Petra; though the

1) It was not until after these pages were written, that I was able to get access at Berlin to the Travels of Irby and Mangles. It is there related, (p. 332, seq.) that the same idea of a corresponding entrance at the northern end had also occurred to Mr. Bankes; and that so thoroughly was he convinced of it, that when at Constantinople he used every exertion to procure a firmân authorizing him to excavate and ascertain the fact; but in vain. In the spring of 1818, these travellers with others being at Jerusalem, endeavoured to obtain permission from the Governor to dig on the same spot, but also without success. They therefore undertook the excavation themselves secretly by night, viz. Messrs. Bankes, Legh, Irby, Mangles, and Corry, with five servants. They came in the morning to a large block of stone on the spot where they expected to find an entrance. They succeeded during the day in breaking the stone, but their proceedings were discovered and prohibited by the authorities. Times have now changed. We asked no leave; and although we wrought openly for several days, we experienced no hindrance from any man.—See also the Life and Adventures of G. Finati, edited by Mr. Bankes, II. pp. 219—234.

species of stone in which it is cut, does not admit of the same architectural effect. It has usually, I believe, been considered as unique in Palestine; yet it is not the only monument of its kind in the vicinity of Jerusalem. It is indeed by far the best preserved; which has been owing, doubtless, to the difficulty of entrance, and to the utter darkness that reigns within. One day as I was returning from this spot to the city with my friend Mr. Homes, we kept along the brow of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, in order to search for traces of Agrippa's wall. Of the wall we found nothing; but at some distance S. E. from the Tombs of the Kings, and near the brow of the valley, we came upon another sepulchre constructed on the same plan with the former,—a square sunken court, with a portico and entrance upon its western side. But here the rock had been less judiciously chosen, and in some parts the sides of the court had been built up with masonry. The portal too was less ornamented and more broken away. The low entrance was here in the middle of the portico; and led into chambers of considerable size, but of less skilful workmanship. Indeed the whole appearance was less imposing; partly perhaps on account of the greater decay. Several other sepulchres of a similar character are to be traced in this quarter; but they are still more broken down and indistinct.

The sepulchre above described, has long borne among the Franks the name of the Tombs of the Kings; probably on account of its remarkable character, which naturally led to the idea of a regal founder. It has been commonly referred to the ancient Jewish kings; on the supposition, that some of them may have been here entombed. The sepulchres of David and his descendants, as we know, were upon

Zion;[1] they were called apparently the Sepulchres of the Sons of David, and also of the Kings of Israel;[2] and were still extant in the times of the Apostles.[3] Four of the Jewish kings, indeed, are said not to have been brought into those sepulchres; but there is no evidence to show that they were buried out of the city, and least of all in this quarter.[4] Josephus too mentions the tomb of Helena queen of Adiabene, (who embraced the Jewish religion and lived for a time at Jerusalem,) on the North of the city; and speaks also of royal grottos or sepulchres in the same quarter, near which ran the third or Agrippa's wall.[5] In another place the same writer speaks of monuments or tombs of Herod, situated apparently near this wall in the same quarter.[6] This circumstance suggests the inquiry, Whether these royal sepulchres of Josephus and these tombs of Herod may not be identical; and refer perhaps to sepulchres constructed by the Idumean princes for members of their own family? A further inquiry also arises: Whether perhaps these tombs with sunken courts, so different from all the rest around Jerusalem, and situated not like the others in the rocky sides of the vallies, but on the level ground above, may not have been a style appropriated to royalty? In that case, the dilapidated sepulchres of that kind which we found along the brow of the valley,

1) 1 Kings ii. 10. xi. 43. etc.

2) 2 Chron. xxxii. 33. xxviii. 27.

3) Acts ii. 29.

4) Uzziah was buried *with his fathers*, but not within their sepulchres, he being a leper; 2 Chron. xxvi. 23. Ahaz was buried within the city, but not in the same sepulchres; 2 Chron. xxviii. 27. Manasseh and Amon were buried in the garden of their own house, in the garden of Uzza, probably on Zion; 2 Kings xxi. 18, 26.

5) Joseph. B. J. V. 4. 2.

6) Ibid. V. 3. 2. Titus caused the whole interval to be levelled from Scopus to the walls, or as it is also said, to the monuments (sepulchres) of Herod, μέχρι τῶν Ἡρώδου μνημείων. These would seem therefore to have been in the plain and near the N. E. part of the city; not certainly upon the high land further West. But in another place, (B. J. V. 12. 2,) a single monument (τὸ μνημεῖον) of Herod is mentioned, which lay S. of the Roman camp; and of course on the west side of the city.

near where the ancient wall must have passed, would answer well to the royal grottos or sepulchres of Josephus; and the present Tombs of the Kings above described, would then correspond to the monument of Helena.

The latter part at least of this hypothesis, is probably well founded. Josephus thrice mentions the sepulchre prepared for herself by Helena during her residence at Jerusalem; once as constructed with three pyramids at the distance of three stadia from the city; again on the approach of Titus to the city from the North in order to reconnoitre, where it is said to be overagainst the gate on that side; and lastly, where he describes the third northern wall as passing overagainst it.[1] Eusebius also relates that Helena constructed a tomb, of which the "celebrated *stelae*" or cippi were still pointed out in his day in the suburbs of Jerusalem.[2] More definite is the passing notice of Jerome, who relates that as Paula approached the city from the North, the mausoleum of Helena lay upon the left or East.[3] Now the great northern road at present is unquestionably the same that it ever was; the very nature of the ground not admitting the supposition of any material variation. Thus then, according to the ancient accounts, the tomb of Helena lay on the East of this road, three stadia distant from the ancient northern wall; and we have seen above that the present sepulchre lies on the same side of the way, at the distance of a little more than half an English mile or four stadia from the modern Damascus Gate. But the ancient northern wall, as we know, ran a stadium or more further North than the present

1) Joseph. Antiq. XX. 4. 3. B. J. V. 2. 2. V. 4. 2.

2) Hist. Eccles. Lib. II. c. 12, στῆλαι διαφανεῖς. See also the note of Valesius on this passage.

3) Hieron. ad Eustoch. Epitaph. Paulae: "Ad laevam mausoleo Helenae derelicto,—ingressa est Jerusolymam urbem." Opp. Tom. IV. ii. p. 673. ed. Martianay.

one; and we have therefore here a very exact coincidence. This fact, taken in connection with the circumstance that the tomb of Helena was celebrated of old, just as the sepulchre in question is to this day the most remarkable object of antiquity round about Jerusalem, seems amply sufficient to establish their identity.

The same conclusion is further strengthened by an historical notice from another quarter, where we should hardly look for any illustration of Jewish antiquities. The Greek writer Pausanias in the second century, in speaking of the sepulchres that he had seen, mentions two as being worthy of particular admiration, viz. that of king Mausolus in Caria, and that of Helena at Jerusalem.[1] This latter he describes as remarkable for its door, which was of the same rock, and was so contrived that it could only be opened when the returning year brought round a particular day and hour; it then opened by means of mechanism alone, and after a short time, closed again; had one tried to open it at another time, he must first have broken it with violence. In this exaggerated account, we may nevertheless recognise the carved doors above described in these excavated tombs, and found here in this sepulchre alone; while the passage also shows the celebrity which the tomb of Helena had obtained in foreign lands. Taking all the circumstances together, there seems therefore little room for doubt, that the excavations so long known in modern times as the Tombs of the Kings, ought henceforth to reassume their ancient celebrity as the Sepulchre of Helena.

The three pyramids or stelae by which the tomb was anciently surmounted, were probably erected over the portal on the level ground above; and could hardly

1) Pausan. Graeciae Descript. Lib. VIII. c. 16 fin. See Note XXVII, at the end of the present volume.

be expected to have survived the ravages of time and of barbarous hands. The earlier pilgrims, before the period of the crusades, make no mention of this tomb; probably because it still bore the name of Helena and was not to them a consecrated object. The same was perhaps the case with the writers of the age of the crusades, who have all passed it over in silence. Only Marinus Sanutus, A. D. 1321, slightly mentions the Sepulchre of Helena on the North of the city; so slightly indeed that it is difficult to say, whether the same tomb is meant; though from its remarkable character this is most probable.[1] After this writer, there seems to be no allusion whatever to this sepulchre until near the close of the sixteenth century, when it is again brought into notice as the Tombs of the Kings, in the tolerably full descriptions of Zuallardo, Villamont, and Cotovicus.[2] From that time onward the place has been described by almost every traveller down to the present day. Pococke was the first to suggest, that it might be the Tomb of Helena; but without reference to the exact specification of Josephus and Jerome, and only as a matter of conjecture.[3] This was strengthened by Chateaubriand and Dr. Clarke by a reference to the passage of Pausanias above cited; although the former adopts in the end a different conclusion.[4]

1) Secreta fidel. Crucis III. 14. 9, "contra orientem descendit torrens Cedron, collectis simul omnibus aquis quas secum trahit de partibus superioribus: scilicet Rama, Anathoth, sepulcro Reginae Jabenorum," etc. Further on, the writer again refers to this tomb in connection with that of the Virgin in the valley of Jehoshaphat: "De Sepulcro vero *Helenae* Reginae, dictum est supra," etc.

2) Zuallardo, A. D. 1586; Viaggio, p. 264. Villamont in A. D. 1589; Voyages, Liv. II. c. 31. Cotovicus in A. D. 1598; Itin. p. 304.

3) Pococke Descr. of the East, II. p. 20, fol.—Doubdan speaks also of a Tomb of Helena, but distinct from the Tombs of the Kings and on the other side of the road; Voyage, p. 258. See also Van Egmond and Heyman, Reizen I. p. 347. Quaresmius knew nothing of any Tomb of Helena in his day; II. p. 734.

4) Chateaubriand Itin. II. p. 79, seq. Paris 1837. Clarke's Travels, etc. 4to. Part II. Vol. I. p. 599. —See Note XXVIII, at the end of the Volume.

Tombs of the Prophets. The excavations commonly known under this name, are situated on the western declivity of the Mount of Olives, a little south of the foot-path leading over from St. Stephen's Gate to Bethany. Pococke describes them as "very large, having many cells to deposit bodies in; the further end of them they call the Labyrinth, which extends a great way; I could not find the end of it; this part seems to have been a quarry."[1] Doubdan compares them with the Tombs of the Judges and Kings; but says the chambers are not square, as in these, but consist of two large and high galleries cut strictly one within the other in a continued curve; the holes or niches for the bodies being on a level with the floor.[2] These sepulchres are not often mentioned by travellers, and no exact description of them seems to exist. I regret therefore the more, that we did not visit them.[3]

1) Descr. of the East, II. p. 29, fol.

2) Voyage, etc. p. 285.

3) See further Quaresmius II. p. 305. Chateaubriand Itin. II. p. 37, Paris 1837. I am not sure, whether these belong among the "certain subterraneous chambers" mentioned by Dr. Clarke on the Mount of Olives; Travels, 4to. II. i. p. 577. The "subterraneous pyramid" upon the pinnacle of the mountain, which he holds to be a work of pagan idolatry, we did not see; but according to his description, it answers well to one of the ordinary subterranean magazines so common in the villages of Palestine.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

Note I. Page 22.

Diocletian's Column. See Wilkinson's Thebes and Egypt, Lond. 1835, p. 289. "The pillar of Diocletian has an inscription at its base, and was probably once surmounted by an equestrian statue; as four cramps are still visible on its summit.—The length of the shaft is seventy-three feet [a solid block of granite]; the total height ninety-eight feet nine inches; the circumference twenty-seven feet eight inches; and the diameter of the top of the capital sixteen feet six inches. The shaft is elegant and of good style; but the capital and pedestal are of inferior workmanship, and have the appearance of being of a different period. Indeed it is probable that the shaft was of a Greek epoch; and that the unfinished capital and pedestal were added to it, at the time of its erection in honour of Diocletian."—The inscription, as copied by Mr. Wilkinson, "by means of a ladder and chalking out the letters," is as follows; the last word being doubtful:

τον τιμιωτατον αυτοκρατορα
τον πολιουχον αλεξανδρειας
διοκλητιανον τον ανικητον
πουβλιος επαρχος αιγυπτου
επαγαθω?

Note II. Page 28.

Irrigation. On the different machines for raising water in Egypt, see Niebuhr's Reisebeschr. I. p. 148, and Tab. XV. For the *Shadûf*, see Lane's Mod. Egyptians, II. p. 24.—The water-wheel, *Sâkieh*, is usually turned by an ox, and raises the water by means of jars fastened to a circular or endless rope, which hangs over the wheel. The *Shadûf* has a toilsome occupation. His instrument is exactly the well-sweep of New England in

miniature, supported by a cross-piece resting on two upright posts of wood or mud. His bucket is of leather or wicker-work. Two of these instruments are usually fixed side by side, and the men keep time at their work, raising the water five or six feet. Where the banks are higher, two, three, and even four couples are thus employed, one above another.

There is nothing now in Egypt which illustrates the ancient practice of "watering with the foot," alluded to in Deut. xi. 10. This is sometimes referred to the mode of distributing water when already raised, among the channels of a field, by making or breaking down with the foot the small ridges which regulate its flow. But this explanation seems not to reach the point; for the passage in question evidently refers to the mode of *supplying* water, not of distributing it. Possibly in more ancient times the water-wheel may have been smaller, and turned not by oxen, but by men pressing upon it with the foot, in the same way that water is still often drawn from wells in Palestine, as we afterwards saw. Niebuhr describes one such machine in Cairo, where it was called *Sâkieh tedûr bir-rijl*, "a watering machine that turns by the foot," a view of which he also subjoins. The labourer sits on a level with the axis of the wheel or reel, and turns it by drawing the upper part towards him with his hands, pushing the rounds of the under part at the same time with his feet one after another. In Palestine the wheel or reel is more rude; and a single rope is used, which is wound up around it by the same process.

Note III. Page 29.

Thebes. The Sea. Nahum iii. 8. The "Sea" referred to in this passage is the river Nile, which to the present day in Egypt is named *el-Bahr*, "the Sea," as its most common appellation. Our Egyptian servant, who spoke English, always called it "the Sea." Compare Wilkinson's Thebes, etc. p. 40.—In Egypt the word *el-Bahr*, implying the Mediterranean Sea, is also commonly used for North; a North-wind is called "Sea-wind," as coming from the Mediterranean. This shows the fallacy of an argument sometimes used to prove, that the Hebrew was the original language of Palestine, viz. that the word *sea* (יָם) is also the Hebrew term for West. If for this reason the Hebrew language were original in Palestine, then also the Arabic must have been so in Egypt.—In like manner in Syria the word *Kibleh*, referring to Mecca, is now universally employed for South.

Note IV. Page 32.

Theban Tombs. Among the Tombs of the Kings, that marked by Wilkinson as No. 2, has become a sort of album for travellers. The name of Sheikh Ibrahim (Burckhardt) appears twice in 1813, both on his way upward to Dongola, and on his return: *Ibrahim —post reditum suum à limitibus regni Dongolae.* The names of Belzoni, Irby and Mangles, Rüppell, and many other travellers, are also there. In a corner adjacent—an American corner—we added our names to those of several of our countrymen; some of whom have already found their graves in distant lands.

All these tombs are entirely exposed to the depredations of the Arabs and of travellers; and are every year becoming more and more defaced. The tomb marked by Wilkinson as No. 35, near the foot of the hill Sheikh Abd el-Kûrneh, which he justly regards as "by far the most curious of all the tombs in Thebes," was occupied at the time of our visit by an Arab family with their cattle. The walls were already black with smoke, and many of thepain tings destroyed. See Wilkinson's Thebes, etc. pp. 151—157.

Note V. Page 35.

Cairo. Lane's Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, Lond. 1836. 2 Vols.—Through our friend, the Rev. Mr. Lieder, we made the acquaintance of the bookseller so amusingly described by Mr. Lane in his preface. He visited us several times at our rooms, bringing with him books which had been inquired for. In this way we were able, my companion especially, to purchase several valuable Arabic works.

The magician who has become so famous in Europe through Mr. Lane, (Vol. I. p. 347,) we did not see. But we learned enough on the subject to persuade us, that the whole matter depends on a certain *proneness to believe* on the part of the spectator, and a series of leading questions on the part of the operator. We were further informed on good authority, that he exhibits his art only before Franks; and that the native Egyptians know little or nothing of the matter.

Note VI. Page 45.

Egypt. For the traveller in Egypt, the two works so often referred to in the text, are indispensable, viz. Wilkinson's *Topography of Thebes and General View of Egypt*, Lond. 1835; and

Lane's *Account of the Manners aud Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, 2 Vols. Lond. 1836. If the traveller wish to know how the Egyptians of old lived, he may best add Wilkinson's *Account of the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, 3 Vols. Lond. 1837. If further he be desirous of comparing the contradictory accounts and theories of former travellers, he may take along the volumes of the *Modern Traveller* in Egypt.

The best works on the present condition and statistics of Egypt, are the following: Mengin, *Histoire de l'Egypte sous le Gouvernement de Mohammed Aly. . . . avec des notes par MM. Langlès et Jomard*, 2 Tom. Paris 1823; also a continuation of the same work, "de l'an 1823 à l'an 1838," Paris 1839. St. John, *Egypt and Mohammed Ali, or Travels in the Valley of the Nile*, 2 Vols. Lond. 1834. Marmont, (Duc de Raguse) *Voyage en Hongrie etc. . . . en Syrie, en Palestine, et en Egypte*, 5 Tom. Paris, 1837. I was however assured, on very high authority, that the statistical accounts in these works were not wholly to be relied on. The most condensed and accurate account of Egypt and Muhammed Aly which I have yet seen, is contained in the preliminary sections of Rüppell's *Reise in Abyssinien*, Frankfort, 1838. The latest and most authentic document is Dr. Bowring's *Report on Egypt*, containing the statistics of the country in 1838, printed by order of Parliament, Lond. 1840.

The best Maps of Egypt are those of Col. Leake and Arrowsmith. It is much to be regretted that Wilkinson's large Map of that country has not yet appeared.

Note VII. Page 66.

Rate of Travel. During our journey, we several times measured the ordinary rate of our camels' walk; and found it to be on an average nearest to $2\frac{1}{2}$ English miles the hour, when in full progress. But there are always little delays; sometimes the animals browse more; or a load is to be adjusted; or an observation to be taken; so that the preceding estimate would be too high for a whole day's march. If, therefore, we assume the hour with camels at *two* geographical miles, or nearly $2\frac{1}{3}$ English miles, we shall obtain a near approximation to the truth, as well as a convenient standard. The statement in the text is founded on this estimate. According to Wilkinson, the distance from Cairo to Suez is about 69 English miles on a straight line, and 74 by the road. Thebes, etc. pp. 319, 320.

The rate of the camel's walk, and of course the distance

passed over in an hour, varies somewhat according to the nature of the ground. On the gravelly plains of the desert it is naturally greater than in mountainous and rocky districts. The following rates upon subsequent parts of our journey, were deduced by Prof. Berghaus from a comparison of our routes with the known geographical distances between the given points:

Between Suez and Sinai, G. M.	2,090
" Sinai and 'Akabah	1,837
" 'Akabah and Hebron	2,130
Mean rate	2,019

The rate of travelling with horses and mules in Palestine is considerably faster than the above; and is usually assumed at *three* English miles the hour. But some allowance must be made from this; and, besides, the rate is far more variable than with camels in the desert; owing partly to the character of the animals, and partly to the state of the roads and the uneven nature of the country. Under all the circumstances, I can fix on no better mean rate for the hour with horses and mules, than 2. 4 geogr. miles, which is equivalent to about $2\frac{3}{4}$ Engl. miles or exactly 3 Roman miles. But the rate which would be quite correct between Gaza and Ramleh, for example, would be much less so between Ramleh and Jerusalem; the former distance being nearly level, and the latter mountainous and difficult.

NOTE VIII. Page 68.

SUEZ. The present town of Suez appears to have sprung up in the first half of the sixteenth century. The early Arabian writers speak only of Kolzum, which Abulfeda (born A. D. 1273) describes as a small city; Reiske's Transl. in Büsching's Magazin, Th. IV. S. 196. Rudolf de Suchem, who travelled here about 1340, speaks of a castle of the 'Soldan' on this part of the Red Sea, probably the remains of Kolzum; but he gives it no name. Tucher of Nürnberg was here in 1480, and mentions the "mountain of Suez" at the end of the Gulf, meaning probably 'Atâkah. He says there was here a landing-place, to which spices and wares were brought from Althor (et-Tûr) and so carried to Cairo and Alexandria. Breydenbach and Felix Fabri passed in 1484, but give no name, and speak only of the remains of the canal. In 1516 it is mentioned still as a landing-place by Ben-Ayas, an Arabian writer; and in 1538 a fleet was built here by Suleimân, who sailed hence on an expedition against Yemen. See Notices

et Extraits des Mss. etc. Tom. VI. p. 356. Ritter's Erdkunde Th. II. p. 231. ed. 1818. Belon about 1546 describes Suez; and says an old castle lay near it upon a small hill, doubtless Tell Kolzum. Löwenstein and Wormbser in 1561, and Helffrich in 1565, speak of Suez as a fortress, near which vessels lay; and the latter describes it as consisting of several block-houses built of the trunks of palm-trees, and filled in with earth, with a few dwelling-houses. In 1647, according to Monconys, (I. p. 209,) it was a small place in ruins, inhabited chiefly by Greek Christians. In Niebuhr's time it was still without walls; Reisebeschr. I. p. 219.—For the older travellers above cited, see Reissbuch des heiligen Landes, fol.

The head of this Gulf has always been a place for building fleets. Ælius Gallus in his celebrated expedition into Arabia Petraea, built at Cleopatris a fleet, first of 80 large galleys, and then 130 smaller vessels; Strabo XVI. 4. 23. During the crusades also, the brother of Saladin caused a fleet to be hastily built at Kolzum against the Christians who had attacked Ailah. See Wilken's Geschichte der Kreuzzüge, III. ii. p. 223.

Note IX. Page 73.

Wady Tawarik. Our guides of the Tawarah, and also intelligent natives of Suez, knew no other name for the valley S. of Jebel 'Atâkah, than Wady Tawârik. By the French engineers, and also by some writers before them, it is called Wady er-Ramlîyeh, 'the Sandy.' Niebuhr and a few earlier travellers speak of the part near the Gulf under the name of Bedea; though the former says his Arab guides did not know this name. See Le Père in Descr. de l'Egypte, Et. Mod. I. p. 47. Niebuhr's Beschr. von Arabien, p. 409.

The name *Wady et-Tîh*, 'Valley of Wandering,' which has sometimes been given to the same valley by travellers, seems not now to be known; and if it ever actually existed among the Arabs, it was probably of Christian origin. Monconys in 1647 travelled through the valley, but did not hear this name. Pater Sicard, the Jesuit Missionary in Egypt, who wrote an Essay to prove that the Israelites passed by way of this valley, (which he himself visited in 1720,) does not mention the name Tîh; although it would have afforded him so opportune an argument from tradition in support of his theory. The name therefore probably did not exist at that time; and may perhaps have come into partial use among the Latins and their Arab dependents in con-

sequence of this very theory. Yet neither Pococke nor Niebuhr has the name, as applied to this valley. The latter indeed gives the name *Etti* to the part of the desert plain opposite to its mouth, on the east side of the Gulf; of which however no trace now exists. Reisebeschr. I. pp. 229, 251. See Nouv. Mem. des Missions, T. VI. p. 1, seq. Paulus' Sammlung der Reisen, etc. Th. V. S. 210, seq.

Note X. Page 74.

Valley of the Seven Wells. In February 1827, the Rev. Mr. Smith, my companion, travelled with a caravan by the direct route from Belbeis to el-'Arîsh, passing by the well of Abu Suweirah. The following is an extract from a letter written by him at the time, describing the Valley of the Seven Wells. "We passed," he says, "one tract of land, the features of which were so distinctly marked as to excite considerable curiosity. It was a sort of valley a little lower than the surrounding country, into which we descended at a place with ruins about ten and a half hours from Belbeis. It extends Northwest and Southeast, descending towards the Nile, and narrowing in this direction. We were told that the Nile occasionally flows up this valley to the spot where we crossed it. Towards the Southeast it gradually ascends, and widens into an immense plain, the limits of which in that direction we could not discern. From this plain, the eastern extremity of the Suez mountain ['Atâkah] which now showed itself for the first time, bore S. by E. The soil of this tract was a dark mould. I do not doubt that water might be found in any part of it, by digging a few feet. Indeed after travelling upon it four and a half hours, we came to a well only twelve or fifteen feet deep, but sufficiently copious to water the [200] camels, and fill the water-skins, of the whole caravan, and containing the only sweet water that we found in the desert; all the other wells being brackish. It is called *Abu Suweirah*. Having seen how extensively artificial irrigation is practised in Egypt, I was easily persuaded that this whole tract might once have been under the highest cultivation." They passed the mounds of the ancient canal on the north side of this valley; and saw, on their right, tracts covered apparently with salt, like those mentioned by Seetzen; see Note XI.

Note XI. Page 74.

Ancient Canal. French Measurements. The statements in

the text, here and elsewhere, respecting the country along the ancient canal, are founded on the results obtained by the French engineers, as recorded in the great work on Egypt; and in a more convenient form in the article of Mr. Maclarin, Edinb. Philos. Journal, 1825, Vol. XIII. p. 274, seq. It is proper to mention, however, that strong doubts exist as to the accuracy of these results. I have been informed, that a learned foreigner when in Paris once endeavoured to get access to the original notes and measurements, in order to submit them to a re-examination; but without success.

The French found the level of the Red Sea at Suez to be at high water 30½ Fr. feet above the level of the Mediterranean; and at low water, 25 Fr. feet; giving a mean of 27½ Fr. feet. The height of the Nile at Cairo, they found to be in ordinary floods 39½ Fr. feet above the Mediterranean; and at its lowest point, 16 Fr. feet; giving a mean of 27½ Fr. feet. Hence it appears that the *mean* height of the Nile at Cairo, is the same with that of the Gulf of Suez; while at ordinary times the Nile sinks several feet below the level of the Gulf.—But the tolerably accordant testimony of ancient writers, and especially that of Strabo, who wrote as an eye-witness, shows pretty conclusively, that the canal was supplied with water wholly from the Nile, and that *the water of that river flowed through the whole length of the canal into the Red Sea.* See the extract from Strabo in Note XIII. The testimony of Arabian historians as to the opening of the canal under the Khalif Omar, about A. D. 640, goes to support the same view; see especially Makrizi in Notices et Extraits des Mss. etc. Tom. VI. p. 333, seq.—This however would obviously be incompatible with accuracy in the French measurements, except at the height of the inundation of the Nile.

In A. D. 1810 Seetzen travelled with camels along the track of the ancient canal; and his notices of it are found in Zach's Monatl. Correspondenz, Vol. XXVI. p. 385, seq. He calls the Valley of the Seven Wells, *Wady Sho'aib;* and the Crocodile Lakes, *el-Memlah.* The marshes further East he speaks of as a salt-plain of a white appearance, bounded in some parts by precipitous hills.

The mounds of the ancient canal commence, as we saw them, about an hour and a half N. of Suez. From this point Seetzen traced them two hours and a half with camels; and then travelled an hour and a half further, to the border of the salt-plain. This accords well with the distance from Suez to the Bitter Lakes as

given by the French, viz. 11¼ geogr. miles nearly. From this spot to *el-Arbek*, the point which the water of the Nile reaches in high inundations, Seetzen found the distance to be two hours; and the whole distance from Suez, eight hours; l. c. p. 389. This traveller seems not to have been aware, that the French had found the level of this tract to be lower than that of the Gulf of Suez; for he remarks, that "this plain has everywhere a slight declivity towards the salt lake el-Memlah, which annually receives water from the Nile;" l. c. p. 388.

The mounds of the canal now remaining are described as being from one or two feet to fifteen or twenty feet in height; the space between them being generally about thirty or forty yards.

Note XII. Page 76.

Pelusiac Nile.—The Pelusiac arm of the Nile has usually been assumed as navigable, in consequence of a passage in Arrian, where he is describing the expedition of Alexander against Memphis; Exp. Alex. III. 1. 4. From Pelusium, he says, Alexander ordered part of his troops to sail with the fleet up the river to Memphis; while he with the remainder marched through the desert to Heliopolis, having the Nile on the right hand. *Ὁ δὲ εἰς μὲν Πηλούσιον φυλακὴν εἰσήγαγε, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν ἀναπλεῖν κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν κελεύσας, ἔς τε ἐπὶ Μέμφιν πόλιν, αὐτὸς ἐφ᾽ Ἡλιουπόλεως ᾖει, ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων τὸν ποταμὸν Νεῖλον, καὶ . . . . διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου ἀφίκετο ἐς Ἡλιούπολιν.* But this language certainly does not necessarily imply, that the fleet sailed up the Pelusiac branch, or that it did not proceed for some distance along the coast and then ascend another branch. Just as at the present day, when it is said that a vessel sails from Alexandria up the river to Cairo, we do not understand that it follows the canal or the old Canopic arm, instead of running along the shore to the Rosetta or Damietta branch. All ancient writers appear to be silent as to the magnitude of the eastern arm of the Nile; nor is there any thing in the nature or appearance of the country, to show that it was formerly very much larger than the modern canal which occupies its place. The most definite mention of it is by Strabo, XVII. 1. 4. Compare Rennell's Geogr. Syst. of Herodot. II. p. 171, seq.

Note XIII. Page 80.

Heroopolis. See on this whole subject the Memoires of Le Père and Du Bois Aymé in Descr. de l'Egypte, Et. Mod. I. p. 21,

seq. p.187, seq. Also of Rozière, ibid. Antiq. Mem. I. p. 127, seq. Ritter's Erdkunde II. p. 234, seq. 1818.

One passage of Strabo is too remarkable and decisive not to be inserted here. Lib. XVII. 1. 25, 26, *Ἄλλη δ' ἐστιν* [διώρυξ] *ἐκδιδοῦσα εἰς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν καὶ τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον, καὶ* [κατὰ] *πόλιν Ἀρσινόην, ἣν ἔνιοι Κλεοπατρίδα καλοῦσι. Διαῤῥεῖ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν πικρῶν καλουμένων λιμνῶν, αἳ πρότερον μὲν ἦσαν πικραί· τμηθείσης δὲ τῆς διώρυγος τῆς λεχθείσης, μεταβάλλοντο τῇ κράσει τοῦ ποταμοῦ· καὶ νῦν εἰσιν εὔοψοι, μεσταὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν λιμναίων ὀρνέων. — — Πλησίον δὲ τῆς Ἀρσινόης καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἡρώων ἐστὶ πόλις καὶ ἡ Κλεοπατρὶς, ἐν τῷ μυχῷ τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου τῷ πρὸς Αἴγυπτον κ. τ. λ.* "Another [canal] empties into the Red Sea and Arabian Gulf [at] the city Arsinoë, which some call Cleopatris. It also flows through the Bitter Lakes so called, which indeed were formerly bitter; but the said canal being cut, they were changed by the mixture of the river, and are now full of fish and water-fowl.—Near to Arsinoë is also Heroopolis and Cleopatris, at the corner of the Arabian Gulf next to Egypt." In two other passages the same position is assigned to Heroopolis; Lib. XVI. 4. 2, 5. Hence it very naturally gave name to the Gulf, *Sinus Heroopoliticus*.

At first view, the position here given to Heroopolis might seem inconsistent with the language of the Seventy and Josephus, who make Joseph go up (probably from Memphis) as far as to Heroopolis to meet Jacob, as he comes to Egypt from Beersheba. Sept. Gen. xlvi. 28, 29. Joseph. Ant. II. 7. 5. But this difficulty is only apparent; for we found at a later period of our journey, that the present usual caravan-route from Hebron by way of Beersheba to Cairo, still passes by 'Ajrûd.

Note XIV. Page 170.

Manna. For the insect which occasions the manna, *Coccus maniparus*, see Ehrenberg's Symbola Physica, *Insecta*, Dec. I. Tab. 10. For a representation of the tamarisk, with the insects and manna upon it, see the same work, *Plantae*, Dec. I. Tab. 1, 2. See also a full article upon the tamarisk by the same writer, in Schlechtendal's *Linnaea*, Journal für die Botanik, Bd. II. p. 241. Berlin 1827.

A chemical analysis by Prof. Mitscherlich of Berlin, showed that the manna of the tamarisk of Sinai contains no *Mannin* susceptible of crystallization; but is merely an inspissated sugar (Schleimzucker). Linnaea, ibid. p. 282.

Josephus speaks of manna as existing at Sinai in his day; Antiq. III. 1. 6. A similar substance is found on different trees in various countries of the East; see Niebuhr's Beschr. von Arab. p. 145. Hardwicke in Asiat. Researches, XIV. p. 182, seq. Winer Bibl. Realw. II. p. 64, seq.

Note XV. Page 178.

Horeb and Sinai. The same view respecting the use of Horeb as the general name, and Sinai as the specific one, is adopted by Hengstenberg, Authentie des Pent. II. p. 396. Berl. 1839.—The mountain is first mentioned only as *Horeb*, Ex. iii. 1; then Ex. xvii. 6; and the same is necessarily implied Ex. iii. 12. iv. 28. xviii. 5. *Sinai* is first used Ex. xix. 1, 2, where the Israelites are said to have departed from Rephidim and come to the "desert of Sinai." From this time, with one exception (Ex. xxxiii. 6), during their whole sojourn in the vicinity, Sinai alone is spoken of, Ex. xix. 11, 18, 23. xxiv. 16. xxxi. 18. xxxiv. 29, 32. Lev. vii. 38. xxv. 1. xxvi. 46. xxvii. 34. Num. i. 1. iii. 1, 14. In Num. x. 12, they break up from *Sinai*; and in the list of stations, Num. xxxiii. 15, Sinai also naturally appears. But elsewhere after their departure, and through the whole Book of Deuteronomy, (except in the Song of Moses, xxxiii. 2,) *Horeb* alone is named; and the same events are spoken of as occurring on Horeb, which were before described as taking place on Sinai; Deut. i. 2, 6, 19. iv. 10, 15. v. 2. ix. 8. xviii. 16. xxviii. 69. [xxix. 1.] Later sacred writers employ both names; e. g. *Horeb*, 1 K. viii. 9. xix. 8. 2 Chr. v. 10. Ps. cvi. 19. Mal. iii. 22. [iv. 4.] *Sinai*, Judg. v. 5. Ps. lxviii. 9, 18. [8, 17.] In the New Testament, Sinai alone is read, and had then apparently become a general name, as at the present day; Acts vii. 30, 38. Gal. iv. 24, 25. The same is the case throughout in the writings of Josephus. About the end of the sixth century, according to the Itinerary of Antoninus Martyr, the name Horeb was specially applied to the present Mountain of the Cross, east of the valley in which the convent stands.

In more modern times, and ever since the crusades, the application of the names Sinai and Horeb to the particular mountains or peaks has varied greatly among travellers. Sir John Maundeville after A. D. 1322, uses Sinai as a general name, including Jebel Mûsa and St. Catharine; but says the part where the chapel of Elias stands, is called Horeb, corresponding nearly to the present common usage. Rudolf or Peter de Suchem, A. D. 1336—50, gives the specific name Sinai to Jebel Mûsa only; and applies

that of Horeb apparently to St. Catharine.—Tucher of Nürnberg in A. D. 1479 speaks of Jebel Mûsa as Horeb, and St. Catharine as Sinai; and this nomenclature is followed by Breydenbach and Fabri in A. D. 1484, and very distinctly by Baumgarten A. D. 1507; lib. I. c. 24.—Afterwards Sinai is employed only as a general name, and Horeb still appropriated to Jebel Mûsa; so Belon A. D. 1546, Löwenstein and Wormbser A. D. 1562, and Troilo so late as A. D. 1667. But already in A. D. 1565, Helffrich speaks of Jebel Mûsa as Sinai specifically; and so Monconys A. D. 1647.—In A. D. 1722, the present monkish usage, which applies the name Sinai to Jebel Mûsa, and Horeb to the northern part of the same ridge, had already become established; as appears from the Journal of the Prefect of the Franciscans in that year, and also from Van Egmond and Heyman about the same time; Reizen, etc. II. p. 174. Since that period there has been no change, so far as I know; until Rüppell strangely again assumes St. Catharine to be Horeb. Reise in Abyss. I. p. 120.

Note XVI. Page 186.

Pharan. Feiran. Edrîsi about A. D. 1150, and Makrizi about A. D. 1400, both speak of Feirân as a city; and the description of it by the latter is quoted in full by Burckhardt, p. 617. Laborde has given a view of the ruins in his original work, which is not included in the English compilation.

It is barely possible that this is the Pharan or Paran of Ptolemy, westward of Ailâh. Most probably it is that of Eusebius and Jerome; which they however place to the eastward of Ailah, either from a mistaken theory or some confusion of names. Jerome says expressly, that the desert of Pharan joins on Horeb. See Cellarius Not. Orb. II. p. 582. Euseb. et Hieron. Onomast. arts. *Φαράν, Faran; Χωρήβ, Choreb.*—The valley of Pharan mentioned by Josephus (B. J. IV. 9. 4) is obviously a different place, somewhere in the vicinity of the Dead Sea; perhaps connected with the mountain and desert of Paran, so often spoken of in the Old Testament, adjacent to Kadesh. Num. xiii. 26.

The Peutinger Tables have a Paran fifty Roman miles from Ailah towards Clysma, apparently on the direct route. This would agree better with the Pharan of Ptolemy.

Note XVII. Page 190.

Sinaitic Inscriptions. These inscriptions are mentioned first by Cosmas, as cited in the text; and then by several of the early

travellers; as Neitzschitz, p. 149; Monconys I. p. 245; also by Pococke, I. p. 148. fol. and Niebuhr in his Reisebeschr. I. p. 250. Professed copies of some of them are given by Kircher, in his Prodromus Coptus; and also by Pococke and Niebuhr; but they are very imperfect. Those of Seetzen are better; and some of those made by Burckhardt seemed on a comparison with the originals, to be tolerably accurate. A large number of them have been copied and published by Mr. Grey, in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, Vol. III. Pt. I. Lond. 1832; consisting of one hundred and seventy-seven in the unknown character, nine in Greek, and one in Latin.

The remarks of Gesenius upon the Sinaitic inscriptions are found in a note to the German edition of Burckhardt's Travels; *Reisen in Syrien, etc.* Weimar 1824, p. 1071.

The inscriptions have been first deciphered only within the present year (1839) by Prof. Beer of the University of Leipzig. This distinguished palaeographist had already occupied himself with them so long ago as A. D. 1833; but without success. See his tract entitled: *Inscriptiones et Papyri veteres Semitici quoqtuot, etc.* Partic. I. 4to. Lips. 1833. In the winter of 1838—9, his attention was again turned to the inscriptions, in connection perhaps with our reports and the residence of my companion for a time in Leipzig; and after several months of the most persevering and painful application, he succeeded in making out the alphabet, and was enabled to read all the inscriptions which have been copied with any good degree of accuracy. The results at which he has arrived are already prepared for publication, and the various tables engraved; so that his work may not improbably appear before these sheets leave the press.

By the kind permission of Prof. Beer, I am able to give here a summary of these results. I ought perhaps to remark, that all those palaeographists to whom they have been communicated, are satisfied of their correctness; and that especially some of the most distinguished, have expressed to me in conversation their decided approbation of Beer's labours and views.

The *characters* of the Sinaitic inscriptions, Prof. Beer finds to belong to a distinct and independent alphabet. Some of the letters are wholly peculiar; the others have more or less affinity with the Palmyrene, and particularly with the Estrangelo and Cufic. Indeed, their affinity with the latter is so great, as to lead to the supposition, that the Cufic was afterwards developed from this alphabet. They are written from right to left. In their form, several of the letters much resemble each other, as is the case in

other ancient alphabets. This sometimes creates considerable difficulty in deciphering an inscription; though not more than in the Cufic. But the difficulty is here increased by the negligence of the copyists; who have often not noticed the slight difference that actually exists. This is apparent from the different copies of the same inscription, which exist in several instances.

The *contents* of the inscriptions, so far as Prof. Beer has yet proceeded, consist only of proper names; preceded by a word which is usually שלם *peace;* but sometimes דכיר *memoriatus sit;* and in a very few cases ברוך *blessed.* Between the names, the word בר or בן *son* often occurs; and they are sometimes followed by one or two words at the end; thus the word כהן *priest* occurs twice as a title. In one or two instances the name is followed by a phrase or sentence, which has not yet been deciphered. The names are those common in Arabic; but have this peculiarity, that most of those which are single, end in a Vav (ו), whether they are in the nominative or genitive case; while the compound names end in Yodh (י). Thus we have עמרו, זידו, עודו, אישו, כלבו, אלמבקרו; and also עבד אלהר, אוש אלהר, עבד אלבעלי. The Arabic article is frequent in the names; but has not always the Alef (א) when in composition.—It is a remarkable fact, that not one Jewish or Christian name has yet been found. The words which are not proper names, seem rather to belong to an Aramaean dialect. A language of this kind, Prof. Beer supposes to have been spoken by the inhabitants of Arabia Petraea, in other words by the Nabathaeans, before the present Arabic language spread itself over those parts; and of that language and writing, these inscriptions he regards as the only monuments now known to exist.

The question as to the *writers* of the inscriptions receives very little light from their contents. A word at the end of some of them, may be so read as to affirm that they were *pilgrims;* and this opinion Beer also adopts. But this reading is not certain; and the opinion is to be supported chiefly from the fact, that the inscriptions are found only on the great routes leading from Suez to Mount Sinai. The multitude of them in Wady Mukatteb and around Serbâl may be accounted for, by supposing that mountain or some spot in its vicinity to have been regarded as a holy place; though probably not as Sinai.—That the writers were *Christians*, seems apparent from the crosses connected with many of the inscriptions. The same inscription is in several instances found in more than one place, once with the cross and again without it. The crosses are of such a shape, that they could not be accidental nor unmeaning, e. g. Y, †, ⸸.

The *age* also of the inscriptions receives no light from their contents; as no date has yet been read. On palaeographic grounds, Prof. Beer supposes the greater part of them could not have been written earlier than the fourth century. Had they been written later, some tradition respecting them would probably have existed in the time of Cosmas. The character of the writing also forbids this supposition.

Thus far Prof. Beer; and thus far all is sufficiently clear. But there still remain some historical points of difficult solution. These Christian pilgrims, who were they? and whence did they come? The fact that all the inscriptions are found only on the great routes from Egypt, would seem to imply that they came from that country, or at least from the western side of the Gulf of Suez. But if so, how comes it that not a trace of this alphabet and language is found in Egypt or its vicinity? Egypt too, we know, was full of Jews and Christians in the early centuries; how comes it then that no Jewish nor Christian names are found among the inscriptions? It is true that the heathen proper names continued to be used long after the introduction of Christianity; as we see from the names of the early fathers and bishops; but this will not account for the entire absence of Christian and Jewish names among such hosts of pilgrims coming from Egypt.

On the other hand, were these pilgrims Nabathaeans, Ishmaelites, Saracens, the native inhabitants of the peninsula and of Arabia Petraea in general? The heathen names and the language and writing would lead to this conclusion. But then, how comes it that all the inscriptions are on the western side of the peninsula, and not one upon the eastern? Besides, there is no historical evidence, that any *native* Christian population existed in or around the peninsula in the early centuries; but rather the contrary, as we have seen in the text; p. 180, seq. The Christian exiles from Egypt, and the hermits of these mountains, lived in constant exposure to slavery or death from the heathen around them.

Again; how comes it that in the time of Cosmas, about A. D. 530, all knowledge of this alphabet and language had already perished among the Christians of the peninsula, and no tradition remained respecting the inscriptions?

In the Travels of Irby and Mangles, a fact is mentioned which deserves further examination from travellers. In the vicinity of Wady Mûsa, on the left hand side of the track leading to the village of Dibdiba on the North, this party found upon a tomb, with a large front and four attached columns, an oblong tablet

containing an inscription "in five long lines, and immediately underneath, a single figure on a large scale, probably the date." They describe the letters as "well cut, and in a wonderful state of preservation, owing to the shelter which they receive from the projection of cornices and an eastern aspect. None of the party had ever seen these characters before, excepting Mr. Bankes; who, upon comparing them, found them to be exactly similar to those which he had seen scratched on the rocks in the Wady Mukatteb, and about the foot of Mount Sinai." This inscription they copied; but it has never been made public, and still lies in the portfolios of Mr. Bankes. See Travels of Irby and Mangles, pp. 411, 412, 413.

When we were at Wady Mûsa, I was not aware of the position of this inscription; and the circumstances in which we were there placed, prevented our finding it.

In Cairo I was told that similar inscriptions exist in the immense ancient quarries back of Tûra just above Cairo; and also in the granite quarries of Aswân. It was said also, that they had been copied by travellers; but nothing of the kind has ever been made public.

Note XVIII. Pages 185, 200.

The Convent and its Serfs. The following passage from the Arabic Annals of Eutychius, (Sa'îd Ibn el-Batrik,) Patriarch of Alexandria in the latter half of the ninth century, has been hitherto apparently overlooked; and seems of sufficient importance to be inserted here in a translation. It is found in Eutychii Annales, Tom. II. p. 160, seq. Oxon. 1658.

"But when the monks of Mount Sinai heard of the clemency of the emperor Justinian, and that he delighted to build churches and found convents, they made a journey to him and complained, how the wandering sons of Ishmael were wont to attack them suddenly, eat up their provisions, desolate the place, enter their cells and carry off every thing; and how they also broke into the church and devoured even the holy wafers. Then the emperor Justinian said to them, 'What do ye desire?' And they said, 'We ask of thee, O emperor, that thou wouldst build for us a convent which may be a strong-hold.' For before this time there was no convent in Mount Sinai common to all the monks; they lived scattered upon the mountains and in the vallies round about the bush, out of which God (his name be praised!) spoke with Moses. Above the bush they had a great tower, which remains

to this day, and in it was the church of St. Mary. And when danger was near, the monks fled into this tower and fortified themselves in it. The emperor dismissed them, and sent with them a legate furnished with a great sum of money; and he wrote to his prefect in Egypt, to supply the legate with money, as much as he needed, and also with men, and to see that he likewise received corn from Egypt. And he commanded the legate to build a church at Kolzum, and the convent Râyeh (Raithu?), and a convent in Mount Sinai; and to build this so strong, that in all the world there should not be found one stronger; and so secure, that from no quarter should there be any harm to fear, either for the monks or the convent.

"And the legate came to Kolzum, and built there the church of St. Athanasius; and he built also the convent Râyeh. Then he came to Mount Sinai; and found there the bush in a narrow place between two mountains, and the tower near by, and fountains of water springing up; but the monks were dispersed in the vallies. At first he thought to build the convent high above upon the mountain, and far from the bush and tower. But he gave up this purpose on account of water; for there was no water above upon the mountain. He built therefore the convent near the bush on the place of the tower, including the tower in the convent; in the narrow place between two mountains. So that any one on the top of the northern mountain, might throw down a stone into the midst of the convent and injure the monks. And he built the convent in this place, because here was the bush, and other celebrated monuments, and water. And he built a chapel on the top of the mountain, on the spot where Moses received the law. The name of the prior of the convent was Daula.

"Then the legate returned back to the emperor Justinian, and told him of the churches and convents he had built, and described to him how he had built the convent of Mount Sinai. And the emperor said unto him, 'Thou hast done wrong, and hast injured the monks; for thou hast delivered them into the hand of their enemies. Wherefore hast thou not built the convent on the top of the mountain?' And the legate said unto him, 'I have built the convent near by the bush, and near water. Had I built it above on the top of the mountain, the monks would have been without water; so that if ever they had been besieged, and cut off from the water, they must have died of thirst. Also the bush would have been far distant from them.' Then the emperor said, 'Thou oughtest then at least to have levelled to the ground the

northern mountain; so that from it no one could do the monks any harm.' The legate said to him, 'Had we laid out all the treasures of Egypt and Rome and Syria upon it, we could not have made an end of this mountain.' Then the emperor was wroth, and commanded to strike off his head.

"Thereupon he sent another legate, and with him a hundred slaves out of the slaves of Rome, with their wives and children; and commanded him also to take from Egypt another hundred slaves out of the slaves of Rome, with their wives and children; and to build for them dwellings outside of Mount Sinai, wherein they might dwell, and so guard the convent and the monks; and also to provide for their sustenance, and to see that a supply of corn was furnished to them and to the convent from Egypt. When now the legate had come to Sinai, he built many dwellings outside of the convent towards the East, and fortified them, and placed in them the slaves, to guard and protect the convent. And the place is called unto this day *Deir el-'Abîd*, 'Convent of the Slaves.'

"But when after a long time many children were born unto them, and they were multiplied, and the religion of Muhammed was spread abroad, (this took place under the Khalif Abd el-Melek Ibn Merwân,) then they fell upon one another and killed each other. And many were slain, and many fled, and others embraced the Muhammedan religion. And to this day their posterity in the convents profess this religion, and are called *Benu Sâlih*, and are also named Children (Servants) of the Convent. Among them are the Lakhmîyîn. But the monks destroyed the dwellings of the slaves, after they had embraced the religion of Muhammed; so that no one could any more dwell therein. And they remain desolate unto this day."

Note XIX. Page 249.

Tezkirah, *or Passport of the Governor of 'Akabah.* "The reason of writing it is, that when it was Wednesday the 10th of Muhurram, year 1254, there came to us Mr. Robinson, and with him two others, having an *answer* from the Council to us. This answer he gave to us, and we have read it and understood what is in it. In it we are informed that they need Arabs and camels to take them to Wady Mûsa. Now we have found no camels in our neighbourhood, all the Arabs being in Syria. Therefore we said to them, 'How is your opinion? We have no Arabs nor

camels. We will send for you to Hussein.' They said, 'We shall be detained.' And we said, 'Consult your views; that we may be at ease, both we and you.' And they said, 'We will go to Gaza; Wady Mûsa is not necessary; we will go to Gaza.' So we gave them Arabs of the Tawarah, and one guide to conduct them as far as Wady el-Abyad. And they went towards Gaza, with the peace of God most High.

"We have written this answer, to prevent interference with them; and no one must interfere with them."

Dated the 10th of Muhurram, year '54.

(Signed) OTHMAN,
Governor of the Castle of 'Akabah.
(L. S.)

NOTE XX. Page 254.

HAJ STATIONS. The following is a list of the stations on the Haj-route from Cairo as far as Muweilih, with the portions of the road for which the various tribes of Arabs are responsible and furnish a convoy.

Stations.

1. Birket el-Haj.
2. Dâr el-Hŭmra; no water.
3. *'Ajrûd.*
4. en-Nawatîr; water at Mab'ûk.
5. Jebeil Hasan; no water.
6. *Nŭkhl.*
7. Wady el-Kureis.
8. eth-Themed.
9. Râs en-Nŭkb; no water.
10. *el-'Akabah.*
11. Hakl.
12. Râs esh-Shŭraf; no water.
13. el-Beda'.
14. *Muweilih.*

Between el-Beda' and Muweilih, Rüppell inserts another station, Ainune as he calls it, the Eynunah of Moresby's chart. Reisen in Nubien, etc. p. 218.

Convoys. The route from Cairo to 'Ajrûd is free. The *Tawarah* are then responsible for it from 'Ajrûd to Nŭkhl. But ever since they plundered a caravan several years ago, and were punished for it by the Pasha, they have been deprived of their tolls from the Haj; though it is still their duty to furnish an escort, and they are still responsible for the safety of the caravan on this part of the route.—The *Tiyâhah* are responsible only at Nŭkhl.—The *Haiwât* from Nŭkhl to Râs en-Nŭkb.—The *'Alawîn*, from Râs en-Nŭkb to 'Akabah. The *'Amrân* from 'Akabah to el-Beda'.—The *Haweitât* from el-Beda' to Muweilih, etc.—All these tribes, except the Tawarah, receive tolls.

A list of stations on the route of the Syrian Haj, from Damas-

cus to Mecca, is given in the Appendix to Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, etc. p. 656, seq.

Note XXI. Page 287.

'Abdeh, Eboda. Our 'Amrân guides knew these ruins only under the name of 'Aujeh. Tuweileb called them 'Abdeh; but told us afterwards, that he knew this name only from M. Linant, who had visited the place a few years before. In Hebron we were asked, whether we had been at 'Abdeh, which was said to be three days distant from that town. From what was there told us, we were for some time in doubt, whether the place we had visited was the 'Abdeh of the Arabs. For a long time we could get no definite information, nor find any person who had been there. Some said it lay nearer to the 'Arabah, eastward of el-Bîrein. It was not till after our return from Wady Mûsa in June, that we became satisfied on this point. We then found in Hebron a very intelligent owner of camels, who himself had travelled through all Syria and the adjacent countries, and had been at 'Abdeh. He described to us the route he had taken, and gave a minute account of the ruins and their situation; mentioning expressly that they lay N. W. of el-Bîrein. His account tallied so exactly with what we had ourselves seen, that we no longer had any doubt on the subject.

These ruins have not been described by any traveller; nor am I sure that they have been visited by any one, except M. Linant, as above mentioned. Sir F. Henniker, indeed, in crossing the desert from the convent to Gaza, speaks of having seen somewhere in this quarter, "two large stone buildings, having the appearance of fortresses, and situate on the edge of a lofty rock." (Notes, etc. p. 253.) This language and the circumstances of the case, would lead to the conclusion that 'Abdeh was here meant; but the other details of his account are so totally at variance with what we saw, that I must distrust either this conclusion, or the accuracy of the writer. Seetzen, in 1807, travelled direct from the vicinity of Gaza to Sinai. On the third day he came to a place called 'Abdeh, of which he before had heard much; but he found only a "town whose houses all lay in ruins, and exhibited nothing worth seeing." (Zach's Monatl. Corr. XVII. p. 144.) This could not well have been the 'Abdeh that we saw; and I conjecture it may perhaps have been Elusa. M. Callier also, in passing in 1834 among the mountains bordering on the 'Arabah, where the Wadys

run towards the Dead Sea, speaks of visiting the ruins of an *Abdé*, which were near ; but he does not describe them. (Journal des Savans, Jan. 1836, p. 47.) This location does not correspond at all to the 'Abdeh we visited.—I am inclined to suppose, that both these latter travellers were misinformed by their Arab guides. They had both heard of 'Abdeh and naturally inquired for it; and the Arabs in their usual manner answered at random, and pointed out any spot that happened first to come to hand. There can be no question, that the ruins we saw, are on or near the ancient Roman road, and answer to the position of Eboda in the Peutinger Tables.

Note XXII. Page 293.

Routes from Mount Sinai, across the Desert to Gaza and Hebron.

I. Chief Route from the Convent to Gaza, etc. over the Pass el-Mureikhy. Ten days.

1st Day. Convent to
'Ain el-Akhdar, in the Wady of the same name. See page 125.

2d Day. el-Mureikhy, the Pass.
'Ammâr es-Sâlimeh, a plain.

3d Day. er-Rejîm, a spring of water in Wady el-'Arîsh, near its head.

4th Day. Hŭmâdet el-Berbery, a plain. Here the route No. II comes in.
el-Jŭghâmileh, a spring of bitter water in W/ el-'Arîsh, a little off the road.
Themâil Um es-Sa'îdeh, pits of bitter water.

5th Day. Wady el-Hamdh.

6th Day. Wady el-'Arîsh. The path crosses the Wady and keeps along more to the East.
Jebel Ikhrimm ; see pp. 272, 273.
Wady el-Kureiyeh ; see pp. 272, 273.
esh-Shureif.

7th Day. Wady el-Lussân, W/ Jerûr, W/ Jâifeh } at points to the left of our route ; see pp. 276, 278, 279.
el-Muweilih, with brackish water, near W/ el-'Ain ; see p. 281.

8th Day. Wady es-Serâm (head). Here this route falls into ours. See p. 282.

9th Day. er-Ruhaibeh. Route the same as ours.

10th Day. Nŭttâr Abu Sŭmâr, where the Bedawîn have store-houses for grain.
Wady esh-Sherî'ah, running to the sea.
Ghŭzzeh (Gaza).

This appears to be the route taken by Seetzen in 1807, from near Gaza to the Convent. Zach's Monatl. Corresp. XVII. p. 142, seq.

II. Route by the Western Pass, er-Râkineh. Ten days.

1st. Day. Convent to
Wady Berâh. See page 122.
2d Day. el-Mŭrâk, at the foot of et-Tîh. See p. 112.
3d Day. er-Râkineh, the Pass.
Abu Nuteighineh, with good water.
4th Day. Hŭmâdet el-Berbery in No. I.
Hence, as before, to Gaza.

III. Branch Route from Nos. I and II, by way of Nŭkhl. Eleven days to Gaza.

3 Days to er-Rejîm as in No. I; or to Abu Nuteighineh as in No. II.
4th Day. Abu-Ŭlejân.
5th Day. Nŭkhl, fortress on the Haj-road.
6th Day. Wady er-Rawâk. (Comp. Burckhardt, p. 449.)
7th Day. esh-Shureif, in No. I.
Hence, as before, to Gaza.

Sir F. Henniker passed by er-Râkineh and Nŭkhl; Notes etc. pp. 246, 247. Russegger, a few months after our journey, crossed the Tîh by the Pass el-Mureikhy, and then went by Nŭkhl to Ruhaibeh and Hebron. See Berghaus' Annalen der Erdkunde, etc. März 1839, p. 427, seq.

IV. Eastern route by el-'Ain, etc. Ten days to Gaza.

2 Days from the Convent to the head of Wady ez-Zŭlakah; see page 218.
3d Day. el-'Ain; living water.
4th Day. Wady el-'Atîyeh, running to Wady Wetîr.
5th Day. Pass of et-Tîh, northern ridge, near the head of Wady el-Jerâfeh.
eth-Themed; water. See p. 260.
6th Day. el- Musheh-hem. Comp. in No. VII.
7th Day. Wady el-Mâyein on our road.
Hence, the same route as ours.

V. Branch Route from Nos. I and II, direct to Gaza along the western side of Wady el-'Arîsh.

From the Convent to
Wady el-Hamdh, 5 Days, as in No. I, or No. II.
Mŭktŭl edh-Dhuleim.
Wady el-Hasana. Comp. in No. VI.
el-Burkein.
Mukrih el-Ibna.
Jebel el-Helâl. See p. 273.
el-Kŭsaby; here the route crosses W/ el-'Arîsh.
el-Khŭbarah. See pp. 298, 299.
el-Bawâty.
el-Minyây.
Ghŭzzeh (Gaza).

This appears to have been the route of the Pilgrims in the 15th and 16th centuries. See the next page.

VI. Route between Suez or 'Ajrûd and Hebron.

From Suez or 'Ajrûd to
el-Mab'ûk, wells just S. of the Haj-route.
Ferâshât esh-Shîh.
Wady el-Mudheiyât, which unites with W/ et-Tawâl and enters the sea at 'Ambek.
Kâ'a el-Barûk.
el-Hasana, a plain with living water. Comp. in No. V.
Wady el-'Arîsh, at the junction of W/ el-'Ain. See page 281.
Wady es-Serâm, on our road.
Hence to Hebron, on our route.

VII. Lord Prudhoe's Route from Ajrûd direct to Wady Mûsa.

From 'Ajrûd to		Course.	Hours.	Eng. M.
Mahebeug [Mab'ûk], ...			11.	27.
Wady el-Hadj, winding, . .		N. N. E.	8.	20.
Nakl [Nŭkhl], ...		E. S. E.	14.	38.
Wady Reah	[er-Rawâk], . . (all with much herbage and shrubs.)	E. N. E.	2.	5.
W/ Acaba		N.E. by E.	2.	5.
W/ 'Arîsh		E. N. E.	2.	5.
W/ Souph (Hadjar il-Abiad), . .		id. .	1.	2½.
W/ il-Mashakam [el-Musheh-hem; comp. in No. IV.]		E. N. E / E. S. E.	5.	13.
Gaza and Tor [convent] Road. (The well Meleyha is 4 miles North.)		S. S. E.	1.	2½.

	Course.	Hours.	Eng. M.
Wady Ghureir, ...	E. N. E.	5.	14.
W Geraffe [el-Jerâfeh], . .	S. E.	5½.	14.
W/ Lechiyaneh [el-Lehyâneh], el-'Arabah.	E.	5.	12.

Compare the Route of Burckhardt in the opposite direction. Travels, etc. p. 444, seq.

In A. D. 1483, Breydenbach and Felix Fabri, belonging to different companies of pilgrims, travelled together from Gaza to Mount Sinai, and each described the route. The account of Fabri is the fullest; but presents little more than a few names which can hardly be recognised; except the pass er-Râkineh, by which they crossed the Tîh. The route is as follows: Sept. 10, *Lebhem*, a village.—11, *Chawata*, a district called in Latin Cades.—12, *Gayan*, a Wady.—13, *Wadalar*, a torrent. [Wady el-'Arîsh ?] *Magdabey*, a torrent.—14, *Magare*, a torrent near *Gebelhelel* [Jebel Helâl].—15, *Hachssene* a torrent [el-Hasana]. *Minschene*, a torrent.—16, *Alherock*, a torrent.—17, *Chalep*, a high white mountain. *Meschmar*, a torrent.—19, *Rackani*, pass. [er-Râkineh.] *Ramathim*.—20, *Schoyle*.—21, *Abelharocka*, near the Seat of Moses.

Four years earlier, in A. D. 1479, Tucher of Nürnberg had also passed from Gaza to Sinai; but his route is still less intelligible than that of Fabri. He seems to have crossed the Tîh by the pass el-Mureikhy, which he calls *Roackie;* and says expressly that the usual road crossed much further to the right or West. He gives the following names: Sept. 22, *Mackati*, Wady.—23, *Nockra*, Wady.—26, *Lodro*, Wady.—27, *Schilludy*, mountain.—28, *Torcko*.—30, *Vintheine*, Wady.—Oct. 1, *Roackie*, pass. [el-Mureikhy.]—2, *Malchalach*, Wady.

For the Travels of all these Pilgrims, see Reissbuch des h. Landes.

Elevations. The elevation of the following points (among others) along the middle route and by Nŭkhl, are given by Russegger from barometrical observations in 1838; see Berghaus' Annalen der Erdkunde, etc. Marz, 1839, p. 428. It must however be borne in mind, that the numbers here given do not fully accord with the observations of Rüppell at Sinai, or of Schubert at Hebron.

	Paris Feet.
Convent of Sinai - - - - - -	5115.
'Ain el-Akhdar - - - - - -	3793.
High Plateau of Jebel et-Tîh - - -	4322.

	Paris feet.
Wady el-'Arîsh, Head - - - - -	2832.
" " at 'Ain er-Rejîm - - -	2492.
Nŭkhl - - - - - -	1396.
Wady Jerûr - - - - - -	1013.
er-Ruhaibeh - - - - - -	1032.
Khŭlasah - - - - - - -	661.
Wady el-Khŭlîl (?) - - - - -	1097.
Dhoherîyeh - - - - - -	2040.
Hebron - - - - - - -	2842.
Hebron according to Schubert - - -	2664.

NOTE XXIII. Page 297.

ELUSA. From a remark of Jerome, (Comm. in Esa. xv. 4,) it would appear, that the Aramaean name of this city was חֶלּוּצָה, which was softened in Greek to Ἔλουσα. The Arabic version in Gen. xx. 1, 2, and xxvi. 1, instead of Gerar, reads *el-Khŭlûs*, as if referring it to Elusa. See Reland's Palaest. pp. 755, 805. Bochart Phaleg, p. 309.

The length of the Roman mile is commonly assumed as equal to $\frac{4}{5}$ of a geographical mile, or at 75 to the degree. Our rate in this part of our journey was fully 2. 13 G. M. the hour, being equivalent to $2\frac{2}{3}$ R. M. See in Note VII. Rennell's Compar. Geogr. of Western Asia, I. p. xxxvii.

NOTE XXIV. Page 405.

MOUNT OF OLIVES. The northern summit of this mountain affords an instance of the fluctuating nature of the later monastic traditions. Brocardus, about A. D. 1283, is perhaps the first writer who mentions it; cap. IX. He gives to the southern part of the mountain the name *Mons Offensionis*, because Solomon set up there an image of Moloch; while on this northern point, he says, he placed his other idol Chemosh; 1 K. xi. 7, 8. Afterwards, according to Brocardus, the Maccabees erected here a castle, the remains of which were visible in his day. He gives no name to this summit; but Adrichomius after him, calls it *Mons Scandali.* —Some sixty years later, about the middle of the fourteenth century, Maundeville and Rudolf de Suchem both speak of this northern point under the name of *Galilee;* the former calls it Mount Galilee, and the latter says there was upon it a village. The same account is given by Tucher, A. D. 1479, and by Breydenbach and Fabri A. D. 1483. In A. D. 1573, Rauwolf found here

ruins, which were said to be those of a Khân or inn, where the Galileans anciently lodged when they came up to Jerusalem. Cotovicus in A. D. 1598, calls it Galilee; and says a large building had just before been commenced.—Next comes Quaresmius about 1620, who calls the same point *Galilee* and also *Viri Galilaei*, and is in doubt whether this appellation comes from a former village, or a like inn once situated here; or whether, as some said, from the circumstance, that here the two angels met the disciples after the ascension of Jesus, and addressed them: "Men of Galilee," etc. Acts i. 11. See Quaresm. Elucid. Terr. Sanct. II. p. 319. The same writer unites the names *Mons Offensionis et Scandali* upon the southern ridge; ib. p. 278. Doubdan describes the northern summit in 1652, as called *Viri Galilaei* and occupied by a large new building not yet finished; Voyage, etc. p. 285. In 1697 Maundrell still gives it the same name; and says a high tower had stood here, which had been thrown down two years before.—Pococke appears to have found the name transferred to another spot lower down; Vol. II. p. 28. fol. So too Turner, Tour, etc. II. p. 256. At present the name Galilee seems to be forgotten; or at least recent travellers do not mention it as applied to this summit, and we heard nothing of it.

Still earlier than Brocardus, Saewulf about A. D. 1103, speaks of the Coenaculum on Zion as then called Galilee, because the "men of Galilee" often assembled there; Peregrinat. p. 266.

Note XXV. Page 415.

Zion and Akra, *according to Clarke and Olshausen.* Two theories respecting Jerusalem have been broached within the present century, which have made some noise in the learned world; more perhaps from the reputation of the scholars who have brought them forward, than from any intrinsic merit in the theories themselves.

Dr. E. D. Clarke, who visited Jerusalem in 1801, and wrote ten years later, held it as probable, that the Hill of Evil Counsel, now so called, south of the Valley of Hinnom, was "the real Mount Sion;" and that which we have called the Valley of Hinnom, he regarded as the Tyropoeon of Josephus. Travels, etc. Part. II. Vol. I. p. 557. 4to. London 1812. He does not however attempt to disturb the site of the temple as commonly assumed; but considers the great Mosk of Omar as occupying the spot, where that ancient structure stood. Ibid. pp. 601, 602. Dr. Clarke apparently did not take the trouble even to think of reconciling his

theory with the other topographical details of the ancient city. He forgot, or did not know, that Josephus, as we have seen in the text, describes the northern part of Zion as lying West from the temple, and connected with it by a bridge, which was not so long but that persons could hold a colloquy across it. Now Dr. Clarke's Mount Zion is more than an English mile distant from the Great Mosk or site of the temple; and between the two lies the whole extent of the high hill, which all travellers but Dr. Clarke do not hesitate to regard as Zion.—The hypothesis is too absurd to admit of further refutation.

The theory of Olshausen has respect to Akra and the Lower City; which in his little tract he holds to have been the same with the narrow ridge south of the Great Mosk, and east of Zion; *Topogr. des alten Jerus.* pp. 4, 5. But to say nothing of the fact, that a gate led out from the west side of the temple into the "other" or Lower City, as described in the text; I would here only remark, that Akra lay "overagainst" the temple; was naturally higher than Moriah; and was separated from it by a valley. Now, as we have seen, the present narrow ridge of Ophel, S. of the Great Mosk, is not and never was separated from Moriah by a valley; it being only a lower prolongation of one and the same ridge. Nor can it ever have been even so high as the level of Moriah; for at present its upper part, adjacent to the city wall, is at least one hundred feet lower than the area of the mosk; and it continues to slope down rapidly with occasional rocky offsets quite to Siloam. The rocky surface which appears in many parts of it, and indeed its whole aspect, demonstrate that it never was much if any higher than at present.

I carried with me the tract of Olshausen above mentioned, in order to examine his arguments upon the spot. And since this note was written, I have had the pleasure of submitting it, as well as the part of the text to which it refers, to the inspection of Prof. Olshausen himself; and have reason to suppose that the information thus presented, has led him to reconsider his former views.

Note XXVI. Page 527.

Tombs South of Hinnom. The language of Dr. Clarke in speaking of the tombs South of Hinnom, is exaggerated and reprehensible. He describes them as "hewn with marvellous art;" and says that "some of them, from their magnificence and the immense labour necessary to form the numerous repositories they contain, might lay claim to regal honours." Travels in the

Holy Land, 4to. pp. 549, 551. The impression given by this language is false. Labour enough they must indeed have cost; but there is not the slightest trace of magnificence, nor of any particular architectural skill. Such extravagant assertions could come only from one who had a theory to support.

The theory of Dr. Clarke was, that this hill was the ancient Zion; and this hypothesis he founded on the very slender basis of the sepulchral inscription, *τῆς ἁγίας Σιῶν*, given in the text. The absurdity of it has been sufficiently shown in the preceding note.

The same traveller also broached another hypothesis not much less extravagant, viz. that a tomb which he entered here was probably "the identical tomb of Jesus Christ!" Page 554. This supposition cannot of course be *disproved*, any more than it can be proved; but we might with just as much propriety select some fifty or more among the hundreds of sepulchres around the city, as having been the tomb of the Saviour. Besides, the place of crucifixion, so far as we know any thing about it, was near the city, and also near to one of the great roads leading from the gates. It must therefore be sought in all probability on the northern or western side of Jerusalem. The sepulchre was in a garden near the same place. John xix. 20, 41.

Dr. Clarke claims further to have been the first to "discover" the tombs on the south side of the Valley of Hinnom, lying West of the Aceldama and below the villa of Caiaphas, so called. He speaks confidently of "the discovery of antiquities undescribed by any author; and marvellous it is, [he says,] considering their magnitude, and the scrutinizing inquiry which has been so often directed to every object of the place, that these antiquities have hitherto escaped notice." Page 548. Strange indeed it would have been; for they must have been seen by every pilgrim visiting Jerusalem; and even Dr. Clarke himself suggests that Sandys may allude to them in speaking of "divers sepulchres" in this part near the Aceldama; Sandys' Travels, Lond. 1658. p. 145. But had he looked further, he would have found that other travellers have mentioned these sepulchres repeatedly. They have not *described* them indeed; for that was not the fashion of the early pilgrims. Nor indeed was there any thing about them deserving of special remark, except the inscriptions; and these Dr. Clarke has the merit of being the first to copy.

The following are some of the writers who mention these tombs. Edrîsi in the twelfth century, in speaking of the Acel-

dama, says, that "there are near it numerous dwellings hewn in the rock and inhabited by hermits;" ed. Jaubert. p. 345. Sir John Maundeville speaks here too of "manye Oratories, Chapelles, and Hermytages, where Hermytes weren wont to duelle;" p. 93. Lond. 1839. In the same (fourteenth) century, Rudolf de Suchem likewise mentions "the many dwellings of hermits, now forsaken and uninhabited;" Reissb. p. 847. In A. D. 1483 Felix Fabri describes them more particularly as "ancient Jewish sepulchres," which he often visited and entered alone; though some of them were "so deep, that he never ventured to the end of them for fear of losing himself in the dark." They had formerly, he says, been inhabited by the Greek monks. Reissb. p. 256. But to come down later; Pococke in A. D. 1738, after describing the Aceldama and the tombs around it, speaks of the hill of Evil Counsel or Villa of Caiaphas, and then remarks: "I saw several other sepulchral grottos as I descended from this place into the vale that is to the West of the city;" Descr. of the East II. p. 25. fol.—All this is sufficient to show that Dr. Clarke's "discovery" had been at least spoken of more than six centuries before his day; to say nothing of the language of Antoninus Martyr, who also mentions the cells of anchorites near Aceldama.

NOTE XXVII. Page 537.

TOMB OF HELENA. *Pausanias.* The following is the text of Pausanias; Arcadia, i. e. Lib. VIII. c. 16, *Ἑβραίοις δὲ Ἑλένης γυναικὸς ἐπιχώριας τάφος ἐστὶν ἐν πόλει Σολύμοις, ἣν ἐς ἔδαφος κατέβαλεν ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεύς· μεμηχάνηται δὲ ἐν τῷ τάφῳ τὴν θύραν ὁμοίως πάντα οὖσαν τῷ τάφῳ· λιθίνην, μὴ πρότερον ἐσανοίγεσθαι πρὶν ἂν ἡμέραν τε ἀεὶ καὶ ὥραν τὸ ἔτος ἐπαγάγῃ τὴν αὐτήν· τότε δὲ ὑπὸ μόνου τοῦ μηχανήματος ἀνοιχθεῖσα, καὶ οὐ πολὺ ἐπισχοῦσα συνεκλείσθη δι' ὀλίγης· τοῦτον μὲν δὴ οὕτω· τὸν δὲ ἄλλον χρόνον ἀνοίξαι πειρώμενος, ἀνοίξας μὲν οὐκ ἄν, κατάξεις δὲ αὐτὴν πρότερον βιαζόμενος.* "Et apud Hebraeos in Solymorum urbe, quam Romanorum Imperator funditus excidit, Helenae indigenae mulieris sepulchrum [miri operis] est; in eo enim ostium fabricatum est e marmore, uti ceterae sepulchri partes; id anni stato die, atque hora, occulto machinae cujusdam motu aperitur; neque ita multo post occluditur. Quod si alio tempore aperire conatus fueris, effringas facilius, quam ulla vi recludas."—This passage, I believe, was first brought into notice by Valesius in his Notes on Euseb. Histor. Eccl. lib. II. c. 12.

Note XXVIII. Page 538.

Tomb of Helena. *Carelessness of Writers.* The discussions of Pococke, Chateaubriand, and Dr. Clarke, respecting the Tomb of Helena, exhibit a curious instance of careless second-hand citation. Josephus, as we have seen, describes the sepulchre as having had three pyramids; and Zuallardo in A. D. 1586 gives the first modern account of it in its present state. At that time the Jesuit Villalpandus was preparing at Rome his laborious work: *Apparatus Urbis ac Templi Hierosolymitani*, which forms the third volume of *Pradi et Villalp. in Ezech. Explanationes, etc.* III. Tomi, fol. Romae 1594—1604. In this work he speaks of the supposed Tombs of the Kings, and quotes the description of Zuallardo; lib. 3. c. 16. Thus far all is well enough. But Quaresmius, a few years later, in quoting Villalpandus, makes *him* (not Josephus) speak here of pyramids. Quaresm. Elucid. II. p. 730. Here is the first *lapsus;* and this Pococke has contrived to increase, by saying, unaccountably, that "Villalpandus, describing them as sepulchres of the kings, takes notice of one pyramid standing over them in his time; the other two probably having been destroyed, as the third has been taken away since his time;" Descr. of the East, fol. II. p. 20. This could have come only from a careless misapprehension of Quaresmius. Then comes Chateaubriand, repeating apparently the words of Pococke: "Ce monument souterrain étoit annoncé au dehors par trois pyramides, dont une existait encore du temps de Villalpandus;" Itin. II. p. 81. Par. 1837. Dr. Clarke improves upon this still further: "The circumstance of his (Josephus') allusion to the pyramids at the Sepulchre of Helena, one of which, actually seen by Villalpandus, having since disappeared, and thereby warranted the probable annihilation of the other two, is deemed sufficient by Pococke to identify the place alluded to by the Jewish historian;" Travels, etc. 4to. Part II. Vol. I. p. 597. This then is a version from Pococke, and converts Father Villalpandus at once into an oriental traveller! After all this, one would hardly expect to find, that neither Villalpandus, nor his voucher Zuallardo, nor any other traveller of that or a previous age, says one word of any pyramid or pyramids in connection with this spot. Yet such is the naked truth.

But one blunder was not enough for Chateaubriand; and therefore he contrives to commit another still more gross, which has come down through all the editions of his Itinerary to the present day. Speaking of these same tombs, he says: "Arculfe (*apud Adamn.*) qui les a décrits avec une grande exactitude, (*Sepulchra*

sunt in naturali collis rupe, etc.) avoit vu des ossements dans les cercueils. Plusieurs siècles après, Villamont y trouva pareillement des cendres, qu'on y cherche vainement aujourd'hui;" Itin. Par. 1837, Tom. II. p. 81. The work of Adamnanus was written about A. D. 697; Villamont travelled in A. D. 1589. When I first read the above passage I was gratified to find that this sepulchre could be traced back so far; but on turning to the work of Adamnanus, which is very brief, I sought in vain for the quotation. Recollecting however such a passage somewhere, I turned to the folios of *Quaresmius*, and there found the description beginning with: *Sepulchra sunt in naturali collis rupe, etc.* and the mention of the bones, given as the result of his own personal observation; Elucid. Terrae Sanct. II. p. 730. Thus instead of an alleged notice out of the seventh century, we are furnished with one out of the seventeenth; a difference of more than nine hundred years. Nor did this blunder arise from a mere slip of the pen; as is shown by the mention of Villamont "plusieurs siècles après;" this traveller having been earlier than Quaresmius.

END OF VOL. I.

- Nahum 3:8-29p.

/ Rmg 14:21-32p.

Gen. 41:45-37.

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